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Notice to Our Readers

FROM the time it began publication in 1865, *The Nation* has been owned and controlled by a business corporation, organized ostensibly for profit. But like most other crusading journals *The Nation* has been stubbornly unprofitable. During most of its long career it has had to rely on contributions to supplement its income from circulation and advertising. That such help has always been available is a tribute to the journal itself and to the generosity of its friends.

Since I took over *The Nation* in 1937, its financial fortunes have shifted with the changing times. For almost three years *The Nation* was able to pay its own way, and we had good reason to hope that it had at least moved out of what was politely referred to in publishing circles as the "deficit group." But the beginning of the war brought a rapid rise in costs of operation, particularly in paper and printing costs, which no measures of economy were able to overcome. And *The Nation* has again been meeting deficits which continue in spite of the fact that our circulation has been growing this winter faster than for several years past.

Under these circumstances it has seemed to me neither dignified nor sensible to continue the paper as an individually-owned business, dependent on the generosity of a few interested persons. I have therefore turned over the ownership of *The Nation* to a non-profit membership corporation: The Nation, Inc., becomes Nation Associates, Inc. In this form *The Nation* can legitimately appeal for support to a wider circle of friends, and those who contribute will know that their dollars can never be translated into profit for anyone.

The Nation itself remains unchanged by the change in ownership; neither the editorial direction nor the business management is affected. Our policy will be what it has always been—to fight for a world freed from tyranny and war and from the economic misery that gives rise to both. And surely *The Nation's* services in that fight were never more sorely needed than they are today.

Very soon our subscribers will receive a letter telling more about the new form of organization and inviting them to become members of Nation Associates. We count on their interest and support.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

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The Shape of Things

THE GIGANTIC RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE GOES from strength to strength, overshadowing all other military operations against the Axis. It is now clear that the German army is involuntarily shortening its line, seeking desperately to fall back as nearly as possible intact behind the Dnieper, hoping that lenthening communications will eventually slow up the triumphant Red Army. We should be prepared to see this negative strategy meet with some success when the spring thaw sets in toward the end of next month. That makes all the more imperative the early fulfilment of Mr. Roosevelt's pledge, given in his Lincoln's Birthday address, to hit the enemy hard "from so many directions that he never knows which is his bow and which is his stern." At present the Nazis know well enough where they are most dangerously threatened, and Moscow reports that the flow of German reserves is still from west to east. We must reverse that flow if the Russian victories are to be fully exploited this year, and the task will call for the determined taking of "calculated risks" by the Anglo-American commanders. North Africa is a beginning but only a beginning, and while strategically we remain on the offensive there, tactically we have been compelled to assume the defensive temporarily.

*

A SHARP INCREASE IN AID TO CHINA IS promised both by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in their reports on the Casablanca conference. Of the two the President is much the most positive. "Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken," he declares, "to drive the invader from the soil of China. Important actions will be taken in the skies over China—and over Japan itself." Mr. Churchill limited himself to an intimation that a real effort will be made to reopen the Burma road, but he revealed for the first time that General Arnold and Field Marshal Dill had gone to Chungking to consult with Chiang Kai-shek. On the surface, at least, these statements seem like a complete answer to China's repeated complaint that its interests are being ignored in the shaping of United Nations strategy. The Chinese, however, must be forgiven if they remain a little skeptical until the promises are translated into action. The United States has pledged full assistance to China on several occasions in the past, and the results to date are very unimpressive. The President's assertion on January 7 that the United States was flying as much lend-lease equipment to China as was moved over the Burma road has turned out to be a mere quibble. In a report to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, J. Franklin Ray, chief of the Chinese branch of lend-lease, pointed out that much of our lend-lease aid over the Burma road took the form of materials and supplies for improving the road itself and "was at the expense of goods intended for use within China." Increase of air-line deliveries, he declared, has thus meant more "lend-lease" goods "for actual use in China."

*

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI'S TWENTY-ONE-DAY fast appears to be politically a confession of weakness and personally a token of strength. With the turn in the tide of the war and the checking of Japan's advance, India unquestionably lost a good measure of its bargaining power vis-à-vis the British. Strikes and demonstrations undoubtedly had more effect than a drastic censorship permitted the world to know, but at no time was there any serious possibility that the British would relax their grip. The stalemate that developed gave every promise of enduring throughout the war. Gandhi's latest move may be looked upon as a desperate and dramatic effort to break the deadlock. His specific demand for unconditional release would appear to be more of a pretext than a genuine hope, since he can hardly expect so clear-cut a surrender on the part of the Viceroy. We believe that it was a serious mistake for the British to arrest the Congress leaders in the first place, but Gandhi's "coercion," as the Viceroy smugly describes it—as though coercion had never crossed the minds of the British in India—can only serve to stiffen the Churchill government, "face" being a concept that is not confined to the Japanese. What, then, can Gandhi hope to gain from his current maneuver? A chance, perhaps, to reopen negotiations, to find a formula which will enable India to return at least to the status that prevailed at the time of the abortive Cripps mission. Hope that the British will invite an opportunity for mediation may be found in the reports that Gandhi has been given freedom to receive Mr. Rajagopalachari, who is believed to be working toward this end.

*

TO MUCH HEAT, WE BELIEVE, HAS BEEN generated by the promotion of William Power Maloney, the special prosecutor who over the past year has obtained the indictment of 33 alleged seditionists. Rumor has it that Maloney's sudden elevation was designed to prevent him from prosecuting these cases, and that the whole move is a gesture of appeasement by Attorney General Biddle in the direction of certain isolationist Congressmen whose names have been linked with some of the defendants as a result of mail-frank abuses and platform associations. Senators Wheeler and Nye and Representative Hoffman have in fact denounced Maloney and threatened an "investigation" of the Department of Justice, and we have little doubt that they would be happy to see the indictments quietly quashed. Nevertheless, we don't believe Biddle is acting under this sordid kind of pressure. In the first place, he has nothing to fear from Congressional investigators. Secondly, we

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know that as long ago as last October, months before Wheeler and Hoffman sounded off on the subject, Biddle was on the hunt for a special prosecutor to handle the cases. Finally, if any Congressman has cause to worry in the matter, the last development he can relish is the appointment of O. John Rogge to assume the prosecution. Maloney's successor is the man who broke up the Huey Long machine, and his reputation is such as to bring no comfort to those who have something to conceal. It is true that trial of the cases will now be postponed for months, but what of it? If the defendants are ultimately convicted of conspiracy, they will be punished. If not, their only loss of liberty will have been a suspension of the vicious propaganda in which, conspiracy or no conspiracy, they were individually engaged.

*

THURMAN ARNOLD'S NOMINATION TO THE Circuit Court is, we suspect, a tribute to the power of the press rather than to a distinguished public servant. We do not mean, of course, that his zealous enforcement of the anti-trust laws has won him much editorial approval. On the contrary his activities have been generally condemned except on the occasions when he has prosecuted labor monopolists. And when he filed a complaint against the Associated Press he brought all the leading publishers buzzing around his head like a swarm of hornets. After hundreds of stinging leading articles failed to bring about a withdrawal of the prosecution, a move was started in Congress to investigate the background of the case—in other words, to harass the Department of Justice. These tactics appear to have succeeded. Mr. Arnold is not being kicked out—that would be hardly decent—but he is being kicked upstairs to a position where many of his talents will be wasted. No doubt the publishers are rubbing their hands. We can only hope that the public will rub its eyes and wake up to what is happening.

*

THE EXECUTIVE ORDER FOR A 48-HOUR WEEK in "labor-shortage" areas appears to have encountered more opposition from management than from organized labor. In general, labor's interests have been well protected in the order. The principle of the 40-hour week has been preserved for the post-war period by the retention of the Wages and Hours Act, and the workers normally covered by that act are to receive time-and-a-half pay for all work above 40 hours. Moreover, the order applies only in 32 areas where the vast majority of war workers are already working 48 hours or longer. Labor has never challenged the accuracy of the various investigations which have shown that, with certain exceptions, the 48-hour week is optimum in most industries. It has, however, been concerned lest the need for longer hours be taken as an excuse for cutting the wages of the millions of war workers who have been receiving time-and-a-half pay. Management has centered its criticism of the executive order on the overtime provisions. It contends that in forcing employers to increase their pay rolls 30 per cent for 20 per cent more work the order is inflationary. This is, of course, true to a moderate extent. But the benefits of the extra work obviously outweigh the dangers inherent in creation of additional purchasing power. There was no other realistic choice open to the War Manpower Commission. It could not eliminate the time-and-a-half pay for the millions now working more than 40 hours without inviting serious labor disputes; nor could it ask the workers whose hours are now being increased to accept less favorable terms than those already receiving overtime pay. Taking the urgencies of war production into account, the commission appears to have followed the only course open to it.

Freedom of the Skies

CLARE LUCE is right about one thing. The air age is at hand, and with the advent of peace we must be prepared to deal with the problems posed by an enormous extension of international air traffic. What international rules are to be adopted for the control and regulation of this traffic? What changes in international law are desirable to facilitate its flow and to promote the maximum intercourse and trade between nations? Can our conquest of the air be used to bring the peoples of the earth closer together spiritually as well as physically? Or will it become the basis of commercial rivalries leading to new and more terrible wars?

By raising these questions in her maiden speech, Mrs. Luce could have performed a great public service. She chose instead to deliver a mélange of emotionalism and misinformation, spiced with second-rate wisecracks. And by so doing she has stirred up her fellow-jingoes at home and abroad, sown new weeds in the struggling victory garden of United Nations' cooperation, and cemented a new stretch of road leading to World War III.

The post-war policy of young America, Mrs. Luce declares, is simply: "We want to fly everywhere. Period." Correct! And we may safely add that it is the policy of young Britain, Russia, China, Holland; in short, of the young of all industrialized nations. But if this desire is to be fulfilled we cannot cut up the air into national segments with absolute sovereign rights extending from the earth to beyond the stratosphere. There must be freedom of the skies.

Mrs. Luce, however, emphatically repudiates the idea and takes Vice-President Wallace to task for suggesting that freedom of the air is as essential in the future as freedom of the seas has been in the past. Freedom of the seas, she argues, crippled the American merchant marine, leaving it at the mercy of foreign subsidized lines. Mrs.

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Luce should study American economic history and discover that there is a close correspondence between the decline of American shipping and the rise of the American tariff. Moreover, we seem to remember that this country set the pace in shipping subsidies after 1918. However, history is something which happened before Mrs. Luce's time, and we have no wish to put her at a disadvantage.

Returning, therefore, to the present, we find that Mrs. Luce is greatly concerned by alleged British demands for a policy of freedom of the air. Once established, she contends, it would enable Britain and other countries with comparatively low wage costs to push America out of leadership in the air. Under these circumstances, Mrs. Luce insists, it would be fatal to give up the "historic American air policy of sovereignty of the skies."

We have, then, two propositions: Americans must be able to fly everywhere; foreigners must not be allowed to fly at will over America. Does Mrs. Luce really imagine that the world can arrive at a friendly agreement for international air traffic on this basis? Can she believe that the air everywhere can be made free to Americans while leaving American skies as a closed preserve? Mrs. Luce complains that her speech has been misunderstood "to mean that I felt America must dominate the skies." We have studied the text in the *Congressional Record* and we can see no other possible meaning. Moreover, Mrs. Luce appears to suggest that we should gain world consent for American super-sovereignty now while we can capitalize best our economic and military power. "There is not a shadow of doubt," she said in the course of her speech, "that this country, claiming complete sovereignty of its own skies, and behaving with decency and dignity like the great creditor nation it is, by cooperating to the utmost with the United Nations to liberalize world air policy could keep the air supremacy it now has and take henceforth in the skies the position of enlightened democratic leadership that Britain held and still holds on the seas." This seems to us sufficiently plain even if it is not quite so blunt as Republican Leader Joseph Martin's statement on January 5: "America must rule the air."

What does freedom of the air mean? According to an article in the British magazine the *Aeroplane*, it would include "the right of innocent passage" together with "the right of free landing" subject only to conformity with domestic regulations. It would not mean, however, that a foreign plane could participate in domestic traffic. That is to say, a British plane flying from London to Australia could pass over American territory, making the necessary stops for refueling or for landing passengers or freight originating outside the United States; it could not pick up a cargo in New York for delivery in San Francisco.

Such arrangements do not seem a very formidable encroachment on national sovereignty. Their absence, however, in pre-war days involved, according to the *Aeroplane*, "over 100 reciprocity agreements between European states, strictly balancing the grant of facilities between pairs of nations and hindering free development." Is it really to America's interest to encourage a return after the war to this kind of aerial nationalism? Yet that seems to be the alternative to freedom of the skies, since Mrs. Luce's plan for unilateral freedom for American planes must be dismissed as imperialist fantasy.

Actually this country has more to gain from freedom of the skies than most. Geographically, the United States is not the air center of the world, and few other nations would be absolutely compelled to seek the use of "our" air. On the other hand, if we wish to girdle the globe with air routes we must constantly fly over the territory of other powers and use their airfields. If we had to depend on reciprocity agreements balancing facilities we should be in a poor bargaining position, while the British Commonwealth, with its far-flung dominions and colonies, would be well fixed. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to back our claims to air supremacy by force of arms, we had better listen to the "idealistic" Mr. Wallace rather than the too, too realistic Mrs. Luce.

The Anti-Roosevelt Axis

A COALITION of irresponsible Republicans and disgruntled Democrats seems intent on creating an intolerable situation in Congress. They have launched three investigations calculated, in the midst of a great war, to disrupt the workings of government, to harass the President, and to demoralize public officials. There is some reason to believe that the White House is deliberately standing aside and letting this coalition demonstrate, unchecked, just how mischievous and unscrupulous some opponents of the New Deal have become. We say "some" because an encouraging minority of Republicans and a handful of conservative Democrats have shown that their patriotism and good sense outweigh their partisanship and their political differences with the President.

One of these inquisitorial committees is that of Dies, which has been extended for two more years and may now hope to survive into the fruitful period of the post-war reaction. Many an official with important war work will be spending nights of worry and many days of precious time on the problem of answering charges against himself or his subordinates by as unfair and inaccurate a body as ever disgraced the Congressional power of investigation. The second committee is that headed by Congressman Cox of Georgia, who will devote himself to smearing the Federal Communications Commission. This inquiry should serve as a warning to other administrative bodies that decline to do favors for

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the constituents of Congressmen and that have the temerity to inquire into whether payments made to Congressmen for legal services are violations of the law. Cox received $2,500 from a radio broadcasting station which he helped to obtain a license from the commission.

Decent people of many different political complexions have grown sick of Dies-committee methods; the Cox inquiry is limited, though it will certainly be noisy. More dangerous than either is the committee set up under the sweeping resolution introduced by Smith of Virginia. Readers will recall the damage Smith did the National Labor Relations Board by his investigation of some years back. This new resolution will permit him to do a similar job on every executive department or agency in the government. Congress has never before in its history passed so broad a resolution. There is hardly an officer of the government who cannot be harassed by this new Smith committee, and it will be in a position to review every order issued by every one of the emergency war agencies.

A committee of this kind, if it operates on lines indicated in the debate, should be a big help to the Axis. It can interfere with the efficient conduct of the war abroad and demonstrate the kind of politics which will discredit democratic policies at home. Every disgruntled interest can make the committee its forum. Representative Hope of Kansas has already asked that it investigate OPA ceilings on corn and flour. Representative Boren of Oklahoma wants it to cut down the powers of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Representative Fish would have it review the $25,000-a-year salary limitation, already marked for slaughter by the House Ways and Means Committee. There never was a committee with greater potentialities for evil, fewer possibilities for good.

Some newspapers seemed to feel that the Administration woke up too late to the dangers in the Smith resolution. This runs counter to our own information from the capital. The dangers in the Smith bill were obvious at once, and the Administration was apprised of them. Other reasons must be found for its failure to fight the bill in the House. Most of the Democrats, including Ramspeck, the party whip, voted for the resolution. McCormack, the House leader, ignominiously cast no vote at all. (The most extraordinary vote for it was that of Voorhis of California, who finally made up his mind to vote against the Dies committee, only to make a speech the next day in favor of the Smith resolution.) Either the Administration has completely lost control of the party in the House or thinks its only hope lies in letting Congress overplay its hand, or both. These dismal prospects can only be rectified if every American citizen makes it his business to let his Congressman know that he is supposed to be engaged in a war against Hitler, not Roosevelt.

The President's Pledge

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE President made some promises the other night —resounding, confident promises of victory over the whole fascist conspiracy. On the military side of the struggle, he complemented the review made by Churchill the previous day—pledging the total defeat of the Axis and predicting early invasions of Europe and more intensive attacks, particularly air attacks, on Japan. On the political side, he promised that no "Quislings or Lavals" would be kept in power "anywhere on this earth."

The military plans put forward by the Allied leaders are discussed elsewhere in this issue. The political promises of Mr. Roosevelt will be examined here.

No one with any knowledge of the President's natural sympathies and make-up could doubt that he meant every word he said. Of course he wants the establishment of democracy throughout the world. His desire is written into the Atlantic Charter; it was eloquently expressed in the Four Freedoms speech. Long before Hitler brought his war against civilization into the military field, the President had attacked the practices of terror, discrimination, and threat that constitute the fascist method of government.

Now that we are in the war, it is not likely that the President's antipathy for fascism has diminished. On the contrary it must have increased with every hour of death and destruction. We didn't need his pledge to convince us of his desire to supplant tyranny with freedom. But the pledge is useful for other reasons. At this critical hour it is just as well to remind the world and ourselves of the meaning of the war and of our intentions as a belligerent. The President's words should be short- and long-waved around the world. They should be translated and printed in millions of copies and sent into every occupied country of Europe. They should be framed and hung in every private office in the State Department.

For the pledge made by Mr. Roosevelt cannot be carried out by executive order. It can become a reality only if the forces of democratic resistance here and abroad are strong enough to defeat a reaction which grows more ugly and determined with each day that passes. The President is not Commander-in-Chief of the Allied world. He is not even dictator of the United States. His will is constantly opposed and thwarted by men of conflicting views, by hostile interests, by elements in other nations who owe no allegiance to his word. He is engaged in deadly battle with an enemy he has so far been reluctant even to recognize as dangerous. For Mr. Roosevelt is also thwarted by his own too sanguine temperament. The confidence and happy nonchalance that have carried him triumphantly over physical disability—over

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oceans and continents—over hatred and petty attack—over mountains of work—have also, too often, encouraged him to ignore obstacles which must be faced and patiently cleared away if the ends he desires are to be reached. The President by nature minimizes difficulties, brushes aside objections, ignores unpleasant facts. To him a hypothesis is an enemy.

"But Mr. President," inquires an imaginary correspondent, "how are you going to get rid of Quislings if you once set them up in power and give them arms and cooperate with them as allies and friends?" The President smiles with humorous tolerance. "Let's stick to facts," he says. "That sounds to me like one of those 'iffy' questions. We're busy killing Germans in North Africa—all of us together. That's the job we're interested in now, isn't it?"

The President is satisfied. He has enough concrete, immediate problems to solve. Why on earth do some people always want to look for trouble? When he gets round to the political problem of post-war Europe, he'll find some way to solve that, too—and to solve it right. Meantime we can use those fellows, those near-fascists on the spot out there.

Can the rest of us afford to relax and trust the President as he trusts himself? I'm afraid not. Indeed, I'll go so far as to say that his best chance of winning a final victory in the political war lies in the existence of a strong, vocal, unintimidated body of "pettifoggers" filling the air with protests and irritating questions. The improvements so far registered on the North African political front are certainly to be put down to the clamor of outraged democrats in England, in America, in the occupied countries, in North Africa itself. They were the result of pressure, and only continued and stronger pressure will bring further improvements. The President's pledge is useful as a wall-motto—as a constant reminder to his friends and a warning to his enemies. To treat it as an accomplished fact would be to betray the last, best hope of a democratic future.

Instead we must go on fighting. For the only accomplished facts we see before us are those which militate against the President and his desire.

It is not, for instance, a pettifogging invention that the set-up in North Africa gives little promise of melting into a normal form of French self-government after victory. A peaceful change of this sort is unlikely unless it happens now by the elimination of men universally looked upon in France as traitors and by the reestablishment of republican institutions. Such a proposal is made by General de Gaulle on another page of this issue. To keep things as they are in French North Africa is to insure civil war later on in France. When Mr. Churchill in his speech to the Commons referred hopefully to the French army commanded by General Giraud—"an army which is being raised by American and British equipment to a very powerful force, an army which will play its part later on in liberating the French motherland"—he quite naturally ignored the fact that, with the exception of Giraud, the chief officers of that army are for the most part notorious collaborationists and fascists. And Giraud himself is anti-democratic. How is Mr. Roosevelt going to insure that "Frenchmen will be represented by a government of their own choice" once the legions of Nogues and Juin are safely established in continental France? Does he plan to encourage popular revolution against fascist-led French colonial troops? Would he use American soldiers to prevent a fascist coup?

And how about Spain? The President has addressed the Spanish dictator as his "good friend." The American Ambassador in Madrid has assured Franco that under no circumstances will a change of government in Spain be brought about by Spanish political exiles or by any efforts from outside Spain. Does this promise jibe with the President's assurance that the "right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government anywhere in the world to commit wholesale murder or the right to make slaves of its own people . . . ?" Is this not, word for word, a description of what Franco has been doing ever since he was started on the bloody road to power by Hitler and Mussolini? For reasons of "expediency," the President has permitted the constant appeasement of this crumbling dictatorship and has even pledged the United States to the post-war support of Franco's tyranny. By what device does he plan to free us of our shameful commitments to this super-Quisling? It is not easy to believe that the recent visit of Archbishop Spellman to Madrid is a step toward the overturn of Spanish fascism.

Less compromising but equally disturbing overtures have been made to reactionary elements in other countries or to reactionary representatives of other countries in the United States. Does the President think that his State Department's flirtations with Hungarian revisionists, Austrian monarchists, Italian generals improve the hope of the sort of world he has promised us? Does he think that the State Department itself is a useful instrument through which to create a democratic post-war world order? It is no secret that some of the leading officials of that department are more concerned with the danger of popular uprisings than with the establishment of popular governments once the war is won.

The plain fact is that the President's hopes are already being undermined at home as well as abroad and that he has given aid and comfort to the saboteurs of his expressed aims. This fact cannot be conjured out of existence by wishes or promises; it can only be ended by a courageous and uncompromising policy, initiated by the President and carried out by men who can be trusted.

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Crumbs for Small Business

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 14

TWENTY great corporations held 46 per cent of all war-supply contracts over $50,000 at the end of last November. The dollar-a-year crowd prefers, for obvious reasons, to keep this sort of thing a military secret at a time when many Congressmen are aroused by the plight of small business. Here are the twenty corporations and the total contracts held by each of them at the end of November. The figures are in millions of dollars:

General Motors	$7,251.1	Aviation Corp.	$1,347.6
Curtiss Wright	4,613.1	Glenn L. Martin	1,328.7
Bethlehem Steel	2,953.6	Newport News Shipbuilding	1,165.0
Douglas Aircraft	2,373.1	General Electric	1,128.8
United Aircraft	2,342.6	Todd Shipyard	1,037.8
Ford	2,036.1	North American Aviation	978.3
Boeing Aircraft	1,826.1	A. T. & T.	881.2
Consolidated	1,758.5	Du Pont	867.0
U. S. Steel	1,682.5	Sperry Gyroscope	849.3
Chrysler	1,562.0		
Lockheed	1,372.5		

At the end of last November the volume of war contracts over $50,000 was almost $85,000,000,000. Of that amount these 20 corporations held almost $40,000,000,000. The 25 corporations with $600,000,000 or more each in war contracts held 50 per cent of the total volume of contracts, and 100 corporations held 70 per cent. While much of this work is no doubt being subcontracted, the OWI survey—which contained no names—admitted that "a considerable portion of subcontracts awarded by all other prime contractors goes to the 100 corporations."

The latest report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation, dated February 11, makes interesting reading beside these huge monopolistic totals. The act establishing the SWPC was passed by Congress last June 11, but the figures on the war-production loans it has made to small business men indicate how slow it was in getting started. In the first six months of its existence the SWPC made twelve loans to small business totaling $605,500. In the last two months it made thirty-eight more loans totaling $2,568,770. By February 6, the SWPC had made a total of fifty loans aggregating $3,174,270. Compare this with the total of loan applications received during the eight months—$22,458,523.57.

In addition to making loans to facilitate war production by small business, the SWPC may purchase production facilities, including machinery, and lease them to small business. In eight months it arranged such leases with fourteen concerns. The total amount involved was little more than half a million dollars. The SWPC may recommend small business for prime contracts. In eight months "1,191 firms recommended by the division had received prime contracts totaling $195,400,000." The only figure given on subcontracts is found in the statement that "during the past sixty days the placement of more than $75,000,000 in subcontracts has been reported to our Washington office." No indication is given as to how much of this went to small business.

The SWPC was set up to act as a prime contractor, to take war contracts from the armed services and subcontract these to small business. This was the principal purpose of the agency. Yesterday announcement was made of the SWPC's first prime contracting job in eight months. The contract involved is only for $10,000,000. It is significant that even this first small prime contract does not come from army or navy but from the Federal Public Housing Administration and that it calls, not for war material, but for furniture. The contract was arranged after Mayor George W. Welsh of Grand Rapids, Michigan, called WPB Chairman Nelson's attention to the frightful unemployment in that great furniture center. Its metal- and wood-working establishments could make many parts for armament. Employment there is 21 per cent of normal. No war contracts could be obtained for it. Responsibility for this rests squarely on Nelson, who was given full power by Congress in the SWPC act to take prime contracts from army and navy to subcontract among small business firms. Nelson, for all his fine speeches about little business, has the big-business point of view. The Congressional compromise that won Nelson's support for the SWPC bill has proved its fatal weakness. The compromise put Nelson in charge of the SWPC.

Nelson has quietly sabotaged the Smaller War Plants Corporation. Last Thursday Senator Truman of Missouri rose to the defense of his friend and constituent, Lou E. Holland, who has been deputy chairman of the War Production Board in charge of the Smaller War Plants Corporation. Holland, a dynamo in his native Kansas City, proved a dud in Washington. The big-business tides at the WPB were too powerful for him. Senator Truman put a memorandum into the *Congressional Record* which showed how long Nelson diddled and dawdled in setting up the SWPC. The SWPC, under the act, was supposed to have field offices. Over Holland's objections Nelson approved an odd set-up under which

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the SWPC did not control its own field offices. This situation was not changed until January 7. Not until January 11 was the SWPC given representation on the board of appeals for critical labor areas. It still has no voice on the board which formulates policies governing the controlled-materials plan. No wonder the SWPC has so far proved a failure.

The State Department has executed a successful encirclement of former Governor Herbert H. Lehman and will control his Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations. Those who recall how relief activities were sometimes used for political purposes after the last war know that this is a fact of key importance in the shaping of the post-war world. Not only is Lehman subject to Hull, but it now appears that his field representatives will be subordinate to diplomatic officers. The State Department, in announcing that Fred K. Hoehler had arrived in Algeria to serve as director of relief in North Africa, says he "will report to and serve under the general direction of the Honorable Robert D. Murphy." This may have its effect on the diet of anti-fascists in North Africa.

Major General Alexander Surles, in charge of press relations for the army, deserves a public spanking. His attempt to get the Blue Network to drop or gag Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell is not his first try at interfering with free discussion. Shortly after the invasion of North Africa, he sent out a confidential memorandum to editors and radio commentators asking them not to comment on the political aspects of the invasion. Cal Tinney had the courage to refer to the order on the air, but General Surles talked me out of printing it at that time. "It was all a mistake . . ." It looks as though the mistake was mine.

U-Boats and the Second Front

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

MUCH of the current optimism regarding the war in Europe is due to incomplete acquaintance with the facts. The Russian and African campaigns have been, as they deserve to be, widely acclaimed. They point to a steady disintegration of German military strength and to an eventual Allied victory. But much less well advertised has been the steady gain of German submarines in the Atlantic, the mounting sinkings whose cumulative effect can well postpone indefinitely the day of victory. Germany has apparently lost its chance of winning the war. But unless the U-boat threat is speedily overcome, it does not necessarily follow that we are on the verge of winning it.

In the three years of war the fortunes of submarine warfare have ebbed and flowed. At the outbreak of hostilities the anti-submarine measures evolved in 1918 were quickly applied and the U-boats held in check. Then came the conquest of France, and German submarines, no longer operating under the geographical limitations of earlier days when the English Channel and North Sea exits could very largely be blocked, threatened for a time in early 1941 to win the war. At this point the United States came to the aid of the British. Our navy helped to clear the waters immediately around the British Isles and has kept them a perilous zone for U-boats. But immediately after we entered the war the Germans set up a combat zone off our Atlantic Coast and for months scored a phenomenal number of kills. Then more force became available, a better defense organization was set up, and the undersea raiders sought other, less perilous hunting grounds. From July to November the United States enjoyed a respite from heavy losses. During this period our shipbuilding made some replacements but failed to build up a tonnage capable of supporting a genuine invasion. The African campaign demonstrated very accurately the limitations as well as the achievements of our military position.

At present we are facing for the third time a very great threat from the U-boats. And it is one of the gravest conceivable reflections on the information policies of our armed services that few Americans are even aware of the magnitude of the danger and that possibly no one outside of a small group in the government has the specific figures. The facts that we have indicate a most serious situation. Until several months ago, when the navy no longer dared reveal the facts, it had admitted over 500 sinkings in the Atlantic. Its figures did not include losses in the Mediterranean or in the Pacific and Indian oceans or along the convoy lines to Russia, or reveal the number of vessels damaged but not sunk. Sometimes when the Germans claimed the destruction of virtually a whole convoy on the basis of observations on the spot, the Navy Department or the British Admiralty contented itself with terming the German estimates "exaggerations."

The Germans have frequently made exaggerated claims in the war, but they have seldom done so during highly successful campaigns. Berlin's report of 1,208

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vessels of 7,586,000 tons sunk by submarines in 1942 and of enough other ships sunk by bombers and surface raiders to bring the grand total to just under nine million tons is therefore extremely sobering. It may be an overstatement by 20 up to 40 per cent—during the period when losses were published the German claims often exceeded British admissions by 40 per cent—but it undoubtedly comes closer to being an accurate statement of the current situation than anything else we have. In fact, the conservative *Christian Science Monitor* recently put sinkings at a million tons a month, with tankers in particular suffering heavily. And in addition there is the tonnage that has been damaged and is now laid up for repairs—not to speak of the cargoes, in many cases more vital than the ships themselves. To offset these losses we placed slightly more than eight million tons of shipping in service in the past year, and the British may possibly have built as much as two million tons, a total of ten million in all. If we view these two sets of figures dispassionately, it appears that 70 per cent as a minimum, 100 per cent as a maximum, of last year's United Nations ship production rests at the bottom of the Atlantic. We have also suffered some unrevealed losses of merchant tonnage in the Pacific, but these have probably been fairly small.

We do not know with any greater degree of accuracy the number of submarines which Germany now has available or will be able to put to work soon. British source place the number at 500 to 700, a sufficiently generous estimate in all likelihood. But the current German building rate is put at twenty to thirty a month, fully twice the rate of destruction. In one recent month, according to the New York *Times*, the ratio of completion of new U-boats to those sunk was seventeen to one.

Improvements in design have made today's submarines more formidable customers than those encountered in the First World War. Enough oil can be carried for long cruises, and the hull has been toughened to the point where depth bombs have to explode within a radius of a few yards to be fatal. The submarine can also dive to a much greater depth than formerly. Less commonly noted improvements are the surface speed of modern boats, which permits them to escape corvettes and most other types of patrol vessels and to overtake nine out of ten merchant ships, and the use of larger torpedoes—the explosion now generally destroys instead of merely damaging the target. The time during which an injured vessel can be expected to remain afloat has been drastically cut, and the loss of life among the crew has soared. In turn this has created a shortage of trained merchant seamen willing to run such enormous risks.

Very few U-boats are now operating within 200 miles of the British Isles or along our Atlantic Coast, but their destructive influence is still felt there, for pinned down in these areas are an enormous number of men and ships which destroy no submarines but must keep watch against their return. Meanwhile the hunting grounds have been moved to the convoy routes to Britain and North Africa, to the northeast coast of South America, the mid-Atlantic, and even the south coast of Africa, where German blockade runners have doubtless refueled the U-boats. A concentration of anti-submarine forces in an area lowers the losses there, but the U-boat then shifts its activities elsewhere.

Our principal approach to this problem up to now has been to "build ships faster than the Germans can sink them," and we have achieved wonders in rapid shipbuilding. But the method represents no real solution, and it is certainly the hardest possible way to win a war. Other anti-submarine methods are of varying effectiveness. The R. A. F. has laid mines in German coastal waters, but this merely forces the Germans to use some of their time and material in sweeping them up. The large-scale air raids on U-boat bases such as Lorient have not accomplished much except to force the Germans to build the huge bomb-proof "garages" in which old submarines can be repaired and new ones assembled. Since modern submarines are fabricated in large sections, air attacks on the plants which furnish the Diesel engines and other parts have been employed on a considerable scale. The degree of success here has certainly not been great, and it has of course no effect on the enormous number of U-boats in operation.

The small converted plane carrier was at one time hailed as the answer to the problem of protecting convoys, and its scouting and air protection have been enormously valuable. But in its turn it requires naval protection, and planes are frequently forced to remain aboard in the very kind of nasty, rough weather that affords the submarine its greatest opportunity.

As the African expedition showed, convoys can be guarded with nearly 100 per cent success against attack. The difficulty is simply that too few converted plane carriers, destroyers, and patrol boats are now available. As recently as three weeks ago not a single patrol vessel of a new and approved type was in service. Nor is there any likelihood that this situation will be greatly different in the immediate future.

Two possible answers remain. The first is action on land, either commando raids on a huge scale with the object of destroying U-boat facilities on the European coast or else an invasion of northern France by as large a force as the British and Americans can muster, in other words, the "second front." Either one of these moves would mean huge losses; commando raids would have to be extremely extensive to be effective. On the other hand, since most U-boats now proceed to sea from French ports or through the English Channel, the conquest of the French coast would hinder the operation of

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submarines based farther east. The invasion of France by troops now in the British Isles would not demand much greater transportation than their supply in Britain. Thus we may have to change from a military policy of defeating the U-boat in order to open a "second front" and open a second front in order to make the defeat of the U-boat certain.

There is one other conceivable solution, and that is the discovery of some weapon or method more effective and economical of force than any we are employing at present. The finding of defensive "answers" to improvements in offensive weapons is one of the oldest laws of military history; a list of such cases would cover pages. The submarine threat was answered in 1917, and it can be in 1943. But at the moment the development of the U-boat as an offensive weapon is slightly in advance of the defenses against it.

In meeting this threat our navy has had far too little force at its disposal. Both men and equipment have been greatly overworked. But the navy has also been tardy in recognizing its problem and in coordinating all agencies dealing with it, and it has displayed little imagination in tackling the solution. If there is any officer with the critical, original turn of mind of the late Admiral Sims, he has yet to make an appearance; with so few competent civilian critics of the navy, he is desperately needed today.

The policy of withholding adequate information about the submarine situation from the American public has been thoroughly bad. A censorship asserted to be designed to "keep the facts from the enemy" has merely withheld facts which our people have every right to know and which the Germans have shown repeatedly that they possess. It has concealed blunders and weaknesses which might have been corrected if sufficient publicity had been given to them. And it has likewise deprived us of valuable aid. For most of the great historical improvements in weapons have been initiated by military amateurs or civilians, not by professional military men. An aroused America will find the answer or demand men who can show results.

How to Pay as You Go

BY JEROME WEINSTEIN

WHETHER or not we adopt the Ruml plan, or any other plan for dropping, skipping, or postponing the whole or any part of the tax liability on 1942 income, there will still remain the basic problem of a practical method for collecting taxes by deductions at the source of income. It will still be necessary for the taxpayer to have funds available to discharge his tax liability to the government when it is due. And whether the taxpayer's liability to be met on March 15, 1943, and quarterly thereafter is based on his 1942 income or on his 1943 income is a distinction without a difference if the taxpayer is unable to discharge it. In either case the taxpayer is in default, and the government is without its anticipated revenues.

With more than thirty million taxpayers under present income-tax schedules, the problem of collection is acute. The present schedules dip down into low-income brackets never before subject to any tax and impose rates which make the tax a severe financial burden. Even the smallest amount of taxable income is now subject to a surtax of 13 per cent added to a normal tax of 6 per cent. A single person with an income of $2,500 or less a year must meet an income-tax liability which, when paid in quarterly instalments, will absorb nearly two weeks' salary for each payment.

Those in the lower income brackets are not accustomed to budgeting their incomes to provide for taxes. And a very large part of them lived until recently on a bare subsistence level and have not accumulated savings to meet this recurring financial emergency. Unless some practical method is adopted for accumulating out of income, as earned, the substantial sums required to meet income-tax liabilities, widespread default is certain to occur in the lower and lower-middle income brackets. In income groups above $3,500, the problem is not serious, for these groups normally accumulate savings to which they may resort on tax-payment dates and which they can replenish in the intervals.

If widespread involuntary default does occur it will bring our entire tax system into disrepute, encouraging those who can pay to neglect their obligations. It will also put a heavier tax burden than was contemplated upon the backs of those who pay promptly. For if one group of income-tax payers does not contribute its share, the other groups must carry the load for them.

The only way in which this problem of involuntary default under high tax rates can be solved is by withholding or deducting at source a part of wages and salaries, as earned, to be applied in discharge of income-tax liability. This is recognized by the Treasury Department, the Congressional committees which deal with taxes, and all authorities in the field. Perhaps the chief obstacle to its enactment is the objection to doubling the taxpayers' burdens during the first year of operation.

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It is the apparent dilemma of putting deduction at source into effect without doubling the taxpayers' burden that has given interest to the Ruml plan, the Doughton plan, the Carlson plan, and numerous other proposals for dropping or deferring the whole or part of tax liability on 1942 incomes. It is for this reason, primarily, that very serious consideration is now being given to wiping out as much as $10 billion owed to the government for taxes on income earned last year at the moment when we are faced with the problem of raising an additional $16 billion of tax revenues. The Treasury has offered partial forgiveness as a compromise.

The apparent dilemma is based on the assumption that deductions from 1943 income must be applied to taxes on 1943 income. That assumption is true only if we adopt the Treasury's proposed mechanism for source deductions. There is, however, no good reason why 1943 deductions cannot be used to discharge 1943 obligations on 1942 incomes, provided a satisfactory mechanism exists. That is the procedure which has always been followed by the lower- and middle-bracket taxpayer.

The proposal made by the Treasury last year provided for regular deductions from pay envelopes in accordance with fixed schedules. The employer would keep detailed records of such deductions for each employee, remitting the amount due to the government every three months. At the end of the year the employer would file a detailed report of source deductions for the entire year as to each of his employees. The employee, in his income-tax return, would claim credit for the amount withheld at source by his employer, and the claim would be verified by matching it against the employer's annual report. If source deductions were more or less than the liability indicated on the return, the taxpayer would pay the difference or claim a refund.

The Treasury Department's proposal met with criticism not only from members of the Congressional committees but also from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The latter questioned the ability of his department to check adequately the hundreds of thousands of employers who would be making deductions from workers' envelopes running into billions of dollars. Even if only 1 per cent of such deductions were unaccounted for, the loss to the government would run into millions of dollars. Moreover, it was estimated that an additional staff of more than 10,000 qualified persons, at a cost of over $20 million, would be required, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue doubted whether he could obtain any such staff under existing conditions.

From private business came the objection that preparation and filing of the various reports and the maintenance of the detailed records required would not only impose a very substantial expense but would also present a serious man-power problem.

Another highly significant criticism of source deductions in the form proposed by the Treasury is based on the effect of such deductions on demands for compensating increases in wages and salaries. The validity of this criticism is apparent from the common reaction of workers to the 5 per cent deduction for the Victory tax. When to the Victory tax is added a 20 per cent withholding tax, the single worker whose wages are $40 a week will find only $35 or less in his pay envelope. Regardless of all the explanations which the government may make about the $5 which is missing, the worker will regard it as a wage cut, and the employer will face demands for an increase. This has been the experience in England, where, according to the reports of the Select Committee on National Expenditures, widespread resentment of pay-envelope deductions has seriously impaired the incentive and efficiency of workers.

These criticisms establish the tests which must be applied to any system for deduction at source. To assume that all of these objections may be fully and adequately met by any system that can be devised is to assume a capacity for social invention not justified by past experience. There is, however, a feasible method for deduction at source which I believe goes far toward meeting these various objections.

The plan is simply this: that the government issue tax money which shall be paid to the worker in the amount of his source deductions, and which shall be applied by the worker to the payment of his taxes when due. The tax money could be distributed among banks through the Federal Reserve System in the same way that ordinary paper currency is now distributed. The employer would get it at his bank on payment of the face amount. This tax money might well be the size and form of existing paper currency, printed on blue or yellow paper with the superstamp "tax money" or other appropriate legend, and could be issued in $1, $2, $5, and $10 denominations.

Assume that the employer has a weekly pay roll which, under the schedules for deduction at source, requires him to deduct $300. When he obtains from his bank the amount in cash required for wages, he will also obtain, in appropriate denominations, $300 of tax money for distribution among his workers in lieu of the cash deducted. The worker will make sure that each pay envelope contains his full weekly salary in cash and in tax money. If his salary is $40 and his deductions amount to $5, he will receive $5 in tax money from his employer. By this device the government can collect without three months' delay every penny of the billions of dollars which will be deducted at source by the hundreds of thousands of employers scattered throughout the United States. And no staff of government employees will be required to verify the collection.

The recipient of the tax money will accumulate it and use it to discharge his tax obligations when due. He will

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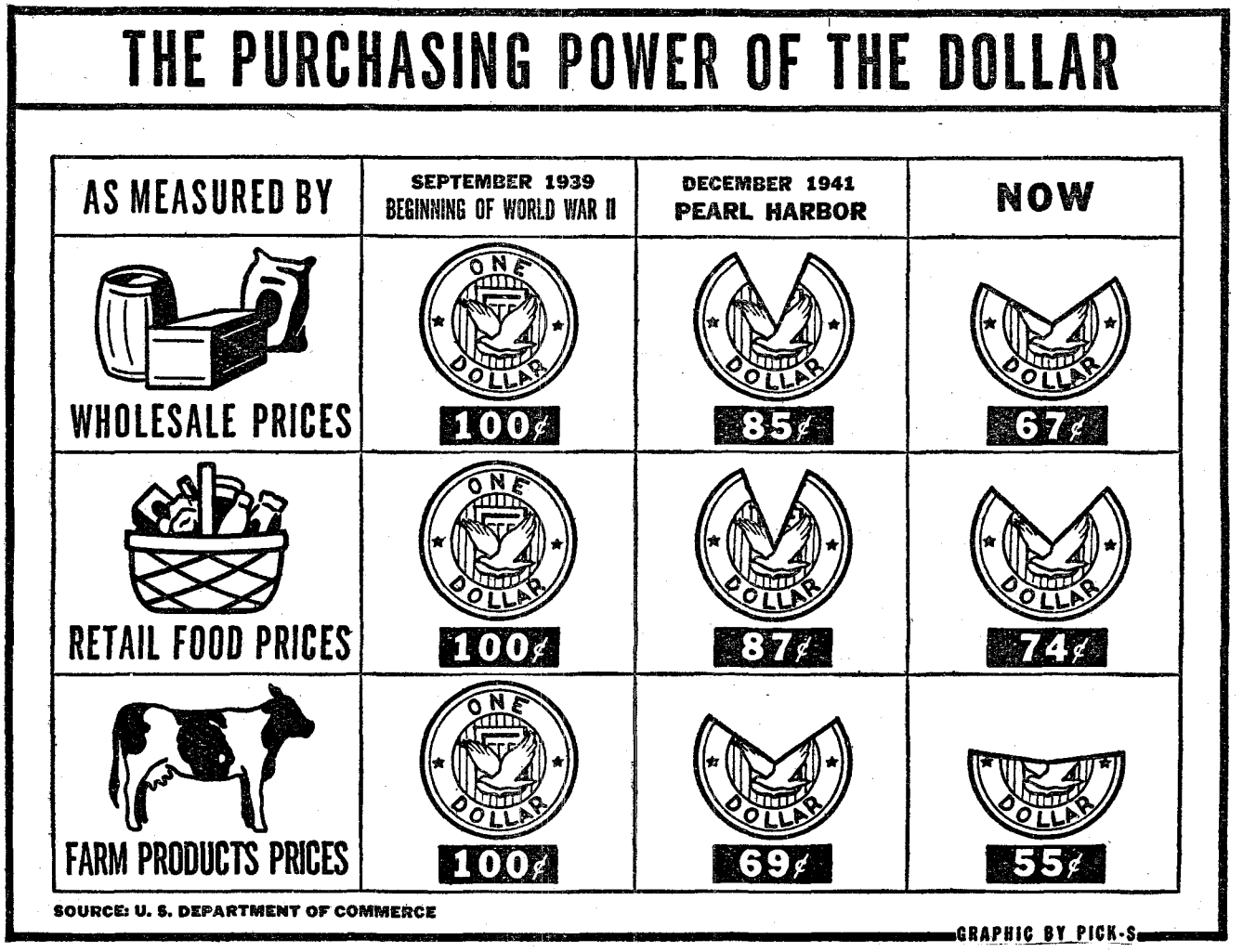
make out his income-tax return as at present and inclose a sufficient amount of tax money to discharge his debt—in the way some people now use tax-anticipation notes. If his taxes are more than his tax money, he will inclose a check for the difference. If his taxes are less, he may retain the balance for future tax payments or obtain a refund.

When the Internal Revenue Department receives the taxpayer's return, it will not have to check his employer's return to be sure that the taxpayer is entitled to the credit claimed. Either the taxpayer presents the visible evidence of such deductions in the form of tax money or his claim is disallowed.

The use of tax money will also free employers from the substantial burden and expense of maintaining records and filing reports. The government will not require proof that it has received the full amount deducted from pay envelopes, for it will have been paid in advance. Nor does the employer have to keep records to prove that he is actually making source deductions. Since there is nothing to be gained thereby, he has no incentive to default. If, however, a government check is desired, the present records are adequate to verify the employer's deductions at source except in one respect—the dates and amounts of the employer's tax-money purchases. Such records can readily be kept by the employer and by his bank.

There would be no problem of a black market in tax money sold at a discount by holders who are pressed for cash or intend to avoid the payment of any taxes, for tax money so acquired would be of no possible use to the purchaser. On his return the taxpayer must declare the name of his employer and the amount of salary received during the tax period. On the basis of the declared salary and under the uniform schedules of deduction applicable to it, the taxpayer should possess a certain amount of tax money. If he presents more, he has either understated his earned income or else has acquired the surplus illegitimately. Since any discrepancy will be readily apparent on the face of the taxpayer's return, it would be foolish for anyone to pay for tax money which he could not possibly use in the payment of his own income tax. It follows, therefore, that tax money is non-negotiable merely by virtue of the effective limitations on its possible use.

In the interest of simplicity the use of tax money contemplates a schedule of deductions computed in dollar amounts on a wage-bracket basis. For example, for single persons without dependents $1 would be deducted in the $14 to $18 wage bracket, $2 in the $19 to $23 wage bracket, $3 in the $24 to $28 wage bracket, and so on. Exact correspondence between the amount deducted and the actual tax liability of the individual is not possible. No practical system of deduction at source can take into



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account regularity of employment, income currently received from other employers, the employment of husband and wife, or deductible items of expense which will vary with different types of employment.

Nor is exact correspondence required. The deduction at source is not a tax in itself, but merely an interim payment on account of a tax liability. Since the source deductions are subject to adjustment when the exact amount of tax liability is finally determined, neither the taxpayer nor the government is seriously prejudiced.

If the basic purpose of deduction at source is to enable the low-income taxpayer to meet his tax liability when due, that purpose is substantially achieved by a system of deduction credits which should normally suffice to discharge 80 per cent or more of such liabilities. Allowing for a possible variance of 20 per cent between the actual tax liability and the amount of deductions at source, it should be possible to effect, under a bracket system of deductions, a scale which will very closely approximate 80 to 100 per cent of the taxpayer's liability.

Nor does the use of tax money require the employee to retain a mass of $1, $2, and $5 bills in tax money collected over the period of thirteen weeks preceding each quarterly tax payment. Tax money would be exchangeable at banks for registered tax-anticipation notes in denominations of $20 and upward. These tax-anticipation notes would be stamped in some distinctive manner to indicate their issuance for tax money instead of cash. The exchange of tax money for registered tax-money anticipation certificates, which is desirable, could be compelled by the refusal of the government to accept more than $10 or $20 in tax money in payment of taxes. The reissue of tax money so exchanged would eliminate the printing of billions of dollars of tax money.

Psychologically there will be a material difference in the worker's attitude toward source deductions if such deductions are evidenced in the visible form of tax money. For every dollar that he does not receive in cash, he receives a tangible and usable substitute. His pay envelope contains his full wages, of which a part is paid in government certificates resembling dollar bills that can be used for taxes. Under the circumstances, it becomes difficult to use pay-envelope deductions as the basis for increased wage demands.

This proposal for withholding taxes at the source is not dependent on the adoption of the Ruml plan or any other scheme for dropping or deferring tax liability on last year's income; it is applicable whether or not any such scheme is adopted. On the other hand, it makes it wholly unnecessary to drop or postpone the tax on last year's income in order to put source deduction into effect without the doubling up of two years' taxes in a single year. There is no reason why the tax money received in 1943 cannot be applied to the discharge of tax obligations on 1942 income. With the adoption of this method of deduction at source, it becomes possible to consider all plans for skipping taxes on 1942 incomes on their merits.

Battle of the Factories

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

IN 1942, for the first time in this war, the United Nations' production of war materials surpassed that of the Axis. Such superiority is a prerequisite for victory, but it is not victory itself. Victory presupposes that it be transformed into superiority on the battlefield, and further that this military superiority be utilized for a complete political victory over the Axis, National Socialism, and fascism.

One of the gravest errors of the European democracies before the outbreak of the Second World War was to mistake their industrial potential for actual military strength. Combined, they surpassed Hitler's Germany in resources, but before they could fully exploit these resources Hitler had beaten them and conquered almost the whole Continent; France's "latent resources" were then used to strengthen the German war machine.

Again, before the United States entered the war, the resources of the United Nations far exceeded those of the Axis, but it took the attack on Pearl Harbor and America's declaration of war to transform these latent resources into war materials. The United States can turn out almost twice as much steel as the Axis countries combined, but victory requires that the steel be converted into tanks, machine-guns, and other implements of war. Vital progress in this direction was made in 1942, as a few figures will prove.

The American aircraft factories, whose production had been stepped up considerably before the war broke out, turned out 2,000 planes a month in 1941; in December, 1942—according to the text of President Roosevelt's message to Congress—the figure had jumped to 5,500 a month. In 1941, 50,000 machine-guns were produced in twelve months; in 1942, 670,000. Last year the war production of the United States alone equaled that of all the Axis countries combined and in some fields even exceeded it. If the British and Russian production is

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added to the American figures, it can be seen how far the United Nations out-produced the Axis.

OUTSTRIPPING THE AXIS IN PRODUCTION

All signs indicate that in 1943 Allied superiority will increase. The reasons are to be found, first, in the further expansion of American production and, second, in the effects of the Russian campaign on Germany. Even now American production has by no means reached its peak; it is estimated that in 1943 arms output will be two-thirds above the 1942 figures. The American armament industry, if it reaches its goals, will have turned out twice as much by the end of this year as the Axis, and the United Nations combined will have produced three times as much as the enemy.

What is said here about America's entire industry is most impressively demonstrated in the case of steel. Already out-producing the Axis countries by a wide margin, the United States by the middle of 1943 will approach a steel-production rate twice that of Germany, Italy, and Japan, according to the report of Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board. "Steel is the backbone of war," Mr. Nelson said, "and we are now producing it in the shapes and types to whip the Axis. Both industry and the steel division of the WPB can justly be proud of the record to date." The three Axis nations, he said, have an estimated production of 50,000,000 to 55,000,000 ingot tons annually, whereas this country already is producing at the rate of more than 89,000,000 tons a year, and on completion of the expansion program next summer the figure will rise to about 97,000,000 tons. When the expected rate is achieved next year, the country's steel industry will have increased its output 30,000,000 tons over 1940.

It is not merely the gigantic growth of American production that will permit us so greatly to outstrip the Axis in 1943. Another factor will be the stagnation, or rather the decline, of production in Germany, which is the decisive Axis partner. The effects of the Russian campaign on Germany's industrial as on its military strength are becoming more and more visible. The German military and economic general staffs learned from the experience of the First World War how to utilize German man-power as efficiently as possible. The overwhelming majority of skilled workers remained in the factories from the outbreak of war up to the fall of 1941, and thus war production was maintained at a high level. But after the bloody losses of the Russian campaigns this was no longer possible. The major task facing the German general staff became the defense of the eastern front and, simultaneously, of Fortress Europe. Despite the heavy loss suffered, it seeks to maintain its effective forces at about 8,000,000 men. That means that millions of skilled workers have had to be taken from industry for the army; and of course women, youths, and foreign workers are not adequate substitutes for the men pressed into uniform. The German war machine continues to force all Europe to work for it, but it is unlikely that it can drain more out of Western and Central Europe than it did in 1941 and 1942, especially since the food difficulties in the occupied regions are constantly growing. There remains for the Nazis as the only source of additional strength the more extensive use of whatever Russian regions they may be able to hold.

It must be stressed that the Russian counter-offensive and the United Nations' African campaign have deprived the German military machine of an advantage which it enjoyed in all previous phases of the war—the chance to regroup and reorganize its forces undisturbed. After the Polish campaign in the fall of 1939 Germany had plenty of time to gather its strength for the campaign against France in 1940; after the victory in the west it was again able, in the winter of 1940-41, to concentrate its attention on the offensive against Russia. And even in the fall of 1941 Germany had so strengthened its position against Russia—the defense of Europe was a simple matter at that stage—that it could prepare for the 1942 offensive without much interference.

Today the situation has changed. For the first time since the Second World War started, the initiative has been wrested from the German general staff. All plans for the further industrial exploitation of Europe have been completely upset by the extraordinary offensive power of the Red Army. The defeats in Russia, coupled with the African campaign, are giving Hitler no respite in the winter of 1942-43; he is getting no chance to reorganize his armies or his war production. Thus it is safe to say that during the period in which the United States will increase its production by another two-thirds, German production will at best be maintained at its 1942 level—if it does not sink below it.

Now that the Russians have regained the Maikop oil fields, the German situation will further deteriorate. In addition, the German transportation difficulties will become more serious as Hitler is forced to wage war not only in the east but also for the defense of Fortress Europe, wherever the Anglo-Saxons may attack.

But if Germany's industrial war machine has reached the peak of production, the same cannot be said of Japan. So far Japan has been able to harness to its war machine only a small part of the industries in the immense areas conquered last year; it is just beginning to utilize their resources. The obstacles to their exploitation are tremendous while Japan is at war, for its losses in cargo vessels and warships have been heavy, and communication routes have become extremely tenuous. Thus one may risk the conclusion, without being over-optimistic, that in spite of its military successes, Japan in 1943 will be so heavily engaged that no major increase of its industrial potential through greater exploitation of the conquered regions is likely.

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STRENGTH ON THE BATTLEFIELD

I have estimated that in 1943 the war production of the United Nations will become three times that of the Axis. This means not only that the United Nations will have a wide margin in production but also that they are already accumulating much greater arms reserves, although the Axis powers started to produce and store arms so much earlier. Victory, however, while it is prepared in the factories, must be won on the battlefield, and a considerable part of our productive capacity must be used to build the cargo ships to carry arms and troops and the warships to escort the convoys. In 1942 merchant shipping was turned out faster than the goals set by Roosevelt required. On the other hand, the Germans have concentrated on submarine construction in recent months, and our losses remain heavy. The American shipping program for 1943 again calls for a doubling of construction, with a goal of 17,000,000 tons. With a better utilization of tonnage and an increased number of small escort warships, it looks as if the transport problem in 1943 would offer no insurmountable obstacles to the use of American forces in the fight against Hitler. The number of Americans serving outside the borders of the United States was estimated at 1,500,000 by the President in his last speech, and the speed with which they are being sent abroad is increasing.

The United Nations have clear-cut naval superiority over the Axis. They are beginning to acquire air superiority also, and as American plane production mounts, this air superiority will grow from month to month. But it has been proved in North Africa, and it will be proved again in future operations, that the German armies can be beaten only by an all-out combined attack from the sea, from the air, and on the ground. The task is tremendous, but it can be done. We have learned that "latent" industrial resources do not count while a war is on, and we are therefore converting our reserves into war materials—planes, tanks, and guns. But these same planes, tanks, and guns must be skilfully used in battle. That skill must be acquired, and it can be acquired only by experience. We have overcome the enemy's lead in war production, but the Germans still have the edge on us in military operations because they have had years of practice in coordinating the movements of ships, planes,

LOOK WHAT OUR FELLOWS BROUGHT IN TODAY

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tanks, and artillery. They will meet the coming attacks by the Allied powers with the knowledge which they have acquired in the fighting in Spain, in Poland, in France, in the Balkans, and in Russia. We shall have to gain our experience in the fighting to come. It is true, of course, that our huge and ever-growing superiority in equipment is a tremendously important factor, but let us realize that we still have to follow a long and bloody path before our superiority in arms production is paralleled by superiority on the battlefield.

A military victory for the United Nations is practically certain. If Hitler could not win in 1942, when the American army was only in the process of formation, when less than a million Americans had been sent abroad and hardly more than 100,000 were at the fronts; if he could not win when America's gigantic industrial plant was still engaged in the shift to war production, then he certainly will not win in 1943, when the American army will number more than 10,000,000, when about 3,000,000 American soldiers will be ready for service outside the United States, and when America's plane production will be twice that of the Axis.

In 1942 the German armies could wage only a limited offensive compared to 1941; they are now on the defensive on all fronts. The African campaign of the Allies can probably be brought to a successful conclusion during the coming spring. After that the concentrated power of America and England will be hurled against Hitler in Europe. Reverses are to be expected at certain points, but they will not influence the general trend.

The Novel Case of Winfred Lynn

BY DWIGHT MACDONALD

LAST June a Negro gardener named Winfred William Lynn was notified by his draft board—Local Board 261 of Jamaica, Long Island—that he had been put into 1-a. He sat down and wrote this letter:

> *Gentlemen:* I am in receipt of my draft-reclassification notice. Please be informed that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction.
>
> Yours respectfully,
>
> WINFRED W. LYNN

This was the beginning of a case which has received almost no publicity, but which is the only legal test that has yet been made of the Jim Crow practices by which the military authorities are violating the spirit if not the letter of the basic law under which the present army is being selected and trained. It is also a case that will raise most important constitutional issues when it comes before the Supreme Court later this year.

That this test is being made at all is entirely due to the fact that Winfred Lynn, in a quiet way, is a very determined person, and that he has a brother, Conrad, not so quiet but equally determined, who happens to be a capable lawyer. Until last December, when Arthur Garfield Hays came into the case as trial lawyer, the Lynn brothers carried on their fight practically alone. Winfred Lynn is, or was, a landscape gardener. For the past twelve years—he is now thirty-six—he has been building up a nice little business putting in trees and shrubbery on Long Island estates. He wasn't much interested in politics, and he had no great quarrel with the economic system—"I'll always get by," he used to say. But he did feel very strongly about one thing—racial discrimination. When war came, he couldn't make any sense out of the contradiction between the theory of a war for democracy and the fact of a Jim Crow army being raised to fight it. Long before he got his 1-a notice, he used to tell Conrad that, regardless of what happened to him, he wasn't going to be a party to such a practice. Many Negroes talked like that. The Lynns are unusual in that they did something about it, and something effective.

The legal basis of Lynn's case is to be found in Section 4(a) of the 1940 Draft Act: ". . . in the selection and training of men under this act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color." To the layman this would seem explicitly to outlaw Jim Crow in the army. Actually, as everyone knows, Negroes are segregated in all-colored units in this war as they were in the last. The only relaxation of the color line is in the case of officers of Negro units, whom the army permits to be white—in fact, rather insists on it. General Hershey, director of Selective Service, has summed it up:

> The act says there is to be no discrimination. But the act also says that no man may come into the army who is not acceptable to the army. The navy, of course, is worse, and the marines will not accept Negro applicants. I regret this state, but unfortunately the army gets the final say. What we are doing, of course, is simply transferring discrimination from everyday life into the army. Men who make up the army staff have the same ideas as they had before they went into the army.

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The Lynn case does not directly raise the question of discrimination in training, but only of discrimination in the selection of draftees. The two are, of course, closely intertwined, both in the wording of the Draft Act itself and in actual practice. In all draft districts with a sizable Negro population, including Local 261 of Jamaica, there are separate quotas for Negroes and whites, despite Section 4(a) and despite the official Selective Service Regulations, which direct that "in classifying a registrant there shall be no discrimination for or against him because of his race, creed, or color." But separate quotas are obviously necessary if the army has separate training facilities, since otherwise too many or too few of one or the other race would constantly be arriving at the camps. Therefore, the New York Selective Service Headquarters begins its periodic calls for men: "(1) Your quota for this call is the first —— white men and the first —— Negro men who are in Class 1-a." Since it is in practice rarely possible to draw on the two racial quotas in exactly equal ratios, the Lynns contend that discrimination exists, the speed with which a man is called up depending on his race as well as on his draft number.

The history of the Lynn case may be told briefly. Three months after receiving his 1-a classification, and after the local board had failed to persuade him to change his stand, Winfred Lynn was notified to report for induction on September 18. He failed to do so, and two months later he was indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of draft evasion. (Conrad believes the long delays were due to the fact that Washington was not entirely certain how to deal with the case and hoped that Winfred could somehow be persuaded to "listen to reason.") On November 16 Winfred appeared before Judge Abruzzo, pleaded not guilty, and was held in $2,500 bail. The next day Conrad asked for a writ of habeas corpus, on the ground that his brother was being illegally detained, since the method of his induction was contrary to Section 4(a) of the Draft Act. Judge Abruzzo granted the writ, and the date of the hearing was set—after more postponements—for December 4. The day before the hearing Colonel Campbell Johnson, a Negro aide on General Hershey's staff, came up from Washington and spent an afternoon trying to get Conrad to drop the case. The hearing was held before Federal Judge Mortimer Byers, who took his seat on the bench, read part of the petition, and then said: "I have here the writ of habeas corpus, the return to the writ, and the traverse. Writ dismissed." When Mr. Hays, who had entered the case the day before, expressed surprise that the judge should dismiss the writ before any arguments had been heard—apparently an almost unprecedented action—Judge Byers replied he would hear no man who had refused induction into the army. Hays went on talking and made quite a long and spirited speech, all of which was in flagrant contempt of court. The judge refrained from making an issue of it, however, and adjourned court after Hays stopped talking. The importance the army attaches to the case, incidentally, was shown by the fact that the prosecution's table was crowded with officers attending as observers.

In order to get a court test on the main issue rather than on the tangential question of whether a draftee could bring habeas corpus action while resisting induction, Hays and Conrad Lynn persuaded the extremely reluctant Winfred to submit to induction. The fact that he is now in the army does not change the case, since habeas corpus has jurisdiction even over the armed forces; it is the one area of civil law that applies there. The only difference is that it is now Winfred Lynn's colonel, instead of his jailer, who is being charged with illegal restraint of his freedom. On January 4 there was another hearing, before a more sympathetic judge, but with the same upshot: writ dismissed. The judge pointed out that although Colonel McDermott, draft director for New York City, had shown by his testimony that separate Negro and white quotas did exist, this was not proof that Lynn had been called out of his turn or, in fact, that he had not been called *later* than his turn. To which Hays retorted that the Draft Act is based on the theory that it is a privilege, not a penalty, to serve one's country, and that if Lynn was called up late, he was still being discriminated against. This argument did not impress the judge.

The case now goes to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, where it is expected to land early in March, and after that to the Supreme Court. Since habeas corpus cases must be specially expedited, it will probably reach the highest court before the end of the year. Conrad Lynn was recently drafted himself, and his brother's case is now being handled by Mr. Hays and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Lynn case may turn out to be one of the most important ever argued before the Supreme Court. It raises two big issues:

1. *Is segregation in itself discrimination?* Webster defines "segregation" as "a separation from others" and quotes in illustration William Wetmore Story's judgment: "The very name of ghetto, signifying segregation and disjunction, is opprobrious." The United States Supreme Court thinks otherwise, however. The line of its decisions in all the classic Jim Crow cases, beginning with *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* in 1895 and continuing through *Mitchell* v. *United States* in 1941, has been that segregation is not in itself discriminatory so long as equivalent facilities, whether in transportation or schools, are provided for Negroes and whites. Writing the majority opinion in *Gaines* v. *Canada* (1938), a case erroneously hailed by liberals at the time as a gain, Chief Justice Hughes summarized the traditional doctrine: "The admissibility of laws separating the races in the enjoyment of privileges afforded by the state rests wholly upon the

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equality of the privileges which the laws give to the separated groups within the state." The novelty of the Lynn case is that it brings up to the court for the first time the question of segregation practiced not by Southern states but by the federal government itself. Jim Crow is integrated so closely into the present social system of the South that it is not surprising that the court, even in its current liberalist phase, has not ventured to disturb it. But it will be quite a different thing to sanction the practice when it is applied by the federal government itself on a national scale to an army drawn mostly from areas where legalized Jim Crow has never existed. "Our Constitution is color-blind," wrote Justice Harlan in his great dissent in the Plessy case. Whether this was a hope or a statement of fact will become clearer when the court decides the Lynn case.

2. *Is a Jim Crow army compatible with a war alleged to be fought for democratic aims?* The fact that nothing was said in the last war's draft laws about racial discrimination, while this time Congress voted Section 4(a) into the law, indicates both a general awareness of the paradox of a Jim Crow army fighting against Nazi racialism and also the gains the Negroes have made since 1917. There are plenty of legalistic ways in which the court can decide against Lynn: it can reaffirm the doctrine that segregation is not discrimination; it can hold that his interests have not been injured by separate draft quotas, since when he was finally inducted he naturally had a lower draft number than whites inducted at the same time; it can even declare Section 4(a) unconstitutional because it interferes with the control the military authorities must have over civilian rights in training a war-time army (that is, it would interfere if it were respected). On the other hand, even the most legalistic jurist must be concerned with the army's present policy of spreading the poison of racial discrimination among millions of draftees from outside the South. When the veterans of our Jim Crow army come back after the war, Negroes and whites alike indoctrinated with mutual hostility by the very conditions of their military life, the effects on our society will not be pretty.

Furthermore, an adverse decision will be politically inexpedient in view of the present state of mind of Negroes. It is significant that although the Lynn case has hardly been mentioned in the national press, it has been front-page news in Negro papers all over the country. When Winfred Lynn went to Camp Upton, his fellow-soldiers knew all about the case and insisted on doing his military chores for him. Another Lynn brother, in training down South, was asked by his white captain whether he was related to "this fellow Lynn that's making so much trouble"—which shows that those on the other side of the fence know about the case too. According to Conrad Lynn, at least six Negroes in his brother's draft district have followed his example, without having the means to make a legal test or to do much of anything, in fact, except go to jail when it comes to that. He also asserts that a large number of Negroes just don't show up when summoned for induction, and that the authorities usually prefer not to do anything about it. The whole question has been smoldering beneath the surface. The Lynn case brings it out into the open and forces a showdown on whether the 1940 Draft Act means what it says.

In the Wind

VANCE MUSE of Houston, Texas, secretary-treasurer of the Christian American Association, reports that the purpose of Senator O'Daniel's recent speech before the Arkansas legislature was to force passage of anti-strike legislation patterned after that of Texas. "We have to our credit the forcing through of this bill in the Mississippi legislature," he said. "We are trying to do the same thing in Arkansas, and will go to bat on it until we get called down for it."

POLITICAL FORECAST: *The Cross and the Flag*, magazine of Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party, is worried about the next Republican candidate for the Presidency. "Governor Harold Stassen associates with the most brazen internationalists in America," it says. "Stassen is the man who led the Willkie stampede at Philadelphia, and it is generally believed the internationalists will turn to him in case they're unable to nominate Willkie in 1944."

FLORIDA FRUIT GROWERS are doing their bit to promote racial harmony by refusing to hire white farm workers, according to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. The union charges that plans are under way to import Bahamans for the harvest, on the theory that they can be more easily exploited than either white or Negro Americans.

THE BELGIAN CREW of a merchant steamer was not allowed to go ashore when the ship recently docked at an American port, because a case of para-typhoid was said to have occurred among the passengers. However, all the passengers were allowed to leave the ship.

THE OHIO Farm Bureau Federation reports that farmers in that state are divided on the question of hiring village youth as farm workers. About half of them favor the idea; the other half believe more would be lost than gained.

JOHN A. ROHAN, an Irish Catholic, was presented with a scroll by the congregation of Temple Israel in St. Louis on his resignation after forty-seven years as baritone soloist with its choir.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Beveridge and the Bourbons

BY S. K. RATCLIFFE

London, January

THE Beveridge Report has made a remarkable difference in the outlook of England. Whatever may be the situation as regards government policy or effort after the social-security scheme has undergone a first test in Parliament, one thing at least seems clear—that the people are now provided with a national plan which must be everywhere eagerly debated. Political warfare as conducted in the past has not sufficiently taken into account the demagogic totalitarian charge that the "pluto-democracies" are unable to end unemployment and other social injustices. The Beveridge plan provides a new and sharper weapon. In reply to the question, What are we fighting for? some millions of people have already begun to say, Well, at any rate we mean to get security of life and work, and this looks like the real thing! What Sir William Beveridge offers is "a plan to win freedom from want by maintaining incomes." So much the simplest citizen can comprehend.

The plan has had an extraordinary press. The newspapers, long starved of inspiriting material, were prepared for a resounding send-off, and Beveridge for several days was accorded a place from which not even the retreat of Rommel could dislodge him. No small part of this triumph, of course, was due to sheer merit. The Report is not unique among government papers on account of literary quality, for many of our bluebooks are uncommonly well written. But it stands alone by a combination of excellences—intellectual grasp, fine temper, and sound and animated writing which is blessed by freedom from jargon. They are saying in London that Winston Churchill was captured by the document, and a large public is thoroughly in accord with him.

For this surprising enterprise a new technique was devised. The government did not appoint a commission of inquiry on the usual pattern: that is, a group of acceptable men and women such as, in the past, were too often made use of for the burial of an insistent problem. Instead of that, we had Sir William Beveridge (on the initiative of Arthur Greenwood, when a member of the War Cabinet two years ago) intrusted with the task of going over the established social services—admittedly an amazing jungle—and shaping a new scheme, with the aid of certain departmental experts whose functions were no more than advisory. Hence the Report is the work of one man, and it bears his signature alone. He is not in the government or in Parliament. At one time a member of the civil service, he is now the head of an Oxford college. Over thirty years ago he became known through a pioneer analysis of unemployment, and then made a distinguished record in food control during the last war. If nominations for the work he has just completed had been invited from, let us say, a dozen recognized authorities in the field, Beveridge would have been assured of the top place; and this estimate of his qualifications has now been justified to the world.

"A revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching." So says Sir William, and his plan is certainly not a patch. But then, neither is it in any sense revolutionary. It is a spacious and ably proportioned remodeling of the social fabric which in Britain has been a-building for more than thirty years. There is no break with the recent past, even in the important matter of form. Every principle of the existing social services is maintained, with unmistakable emphasis upon one characteristic feature. "The capacity and the desire of British people," we read, "to contribute for security are among the most certain and most impressive social facts of today." That is incontestable; and therefore contributions from the citizen are an integral part of all the benefits proposed—unemployment pay, workers' compensation, medical aid, pensions. (There is, however, one exception—family allowances; these, being new, are to come out of general taxation.) The primary aim is unification and comprehensiveness, and to that end a single weekly contribution out of earnings is enjoined. The proposed size of this contribution has caused surprise. It is, of course, inseparable from a higher minimum-wage standard.

The plan is altogether for social security, not for national reconstruction. Sir William Beveridge was not instructed to produce a blueprint for the new Britain. It was, for instance, no part of his duty to discover the cure for mass unemployment. His terms of reference were strictly limited to the social services; and he interpreted these first of all in relation to the abolition of want; in other words, the removal of the great evil and scandal which every great modern country ought to have been able to remove in the years of peace. England, he holds, might have done it before the present war, and will be able to allow it when peace returns.

The acceptance of the Report throughout the country is a phenomenon no less striking than the initial acclaim. The representatives of the welfare agencies are unani-

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mous. Church leaders are eloquent in praise. Progressive organizations on all sides are of like mind. The Liberal Party, small though still influential, is wholehearted. The Trades Union Congress is hardly less unqualified in approval—a fact, by the way, which throws light upon the essential character of the political party which is built upon, and directed by, the great labor unions. The Labor daily paper says in effect: Of course the Beveridge plan is not socialism, or near-socialism, but it is an indispensable measure of benefit for all which must be taken with gratitude. Left-wing antagonism is negligible. The British people are resolved upon social security; and increasingly they view the attack upon want as a first step toward that national minimum of work, income, and welfare which is now deemed to be the right common aim of a civilized society.

But will the scheme be opposed, variously and perhaps with cumulative energy? Undoubtedly it will. The political Bourbons and their allies, the powerful reactionary elements, are holding themselves in for the present. They could not afford to go on record as resisting the will of the nation as a whole. But needless to say, a general assault is being quietly organized. G. D. H. Cole, who with his customary skill and speed has written a brief popular exposition of the plan, is among the first to sound the note of warning. We must expect, he says, a renewal of the tactics of delay and frustration, in Parliament and elsewhere. And here, as in so many other theaters of war, 1943 is the crucial year. The political intelligence and practical sense of the British people are about to be tested, and that in relation to a project of public welfare which, in the judgment of our ablest and wisest, can be built into the national system, with incalculable benefit to the rest of the world. The central query, of course, has to do with our Tories, the extreme right wing which hitherto has so effectually prevented their party from being transformed into a progressive conservative force. We may take it for granted that these people will mobilize in force. And yet there can be no difficulty in arguing that if they had taken in the governing facts of their own situation and destiny, they would welcome Beveridge with both hands. But when have the Bourbons been able to see and comprehend?

Meanwhile, there are a few things that can be stated without qualification. Parliament in the near future will carry a measure of social security, Beveridge's or another. As the work must be done by the present House of Commons, since we may not indulge in the luxury of a wartime election, the danger is that the Cabinet may seek to get by with a limited device of extension and departmental adjustment. There is to be a nation-wide movement of public education, and pro-Beveridge opinion will be steadily organized. But the advocates of the plan will not underrate the central obstacle—a coalition government still crushed down by the burden of the war.

De Gaulle's Program

[*In the first press conference he has held for nine months General de Gaulle on February 9 came out for the immediate restoration of the laws of the Republic in North Africa. We publish herewith the greater part of the interview as it was cabled from London by the French National Committee.*]

DE GAULLE: It has seemed to me that, in the present circumstances, it was desirable for us to make contact, for the serious matters under way concerning France give rise to many interpretations, not always very exact, and sometimes a bit misleading. . . .

Rather than give weighty statements prepared in advance, I prefer that you ask me questions. I shall answer them to the best of my ability and, I assure you, very frankly.

Question: What will be General Catroux's first task on his arrival in Algiers?

De Gaulle: General Catroux has been sent to Algiers by the French National Committee to establish contact, on the one hand, with General Giraud and, on the other, with the French and the natives of North Africa. General Catroux will examine the possibilities of establishing a satisfactory liaison between the National Committee and the existing organization in French North Africa. The published reports of his mission are an example of the false news of which I just spoke—in certain papers one has read that General Catroux was going to accept a position in the present administration of North Africa. I am convinced that common sense will have given the lie to this.

Question: What do you think of General Giraud's last statement announcing that he was assuming complete control over all French Africa?

De Gaulle: We have read his statement very attentively. The opinion of the National Committee is that in one respect it satisfies the demands of Fighting France. That is in the fact that for the first time in three months a few effective provisions for liberty are made in that unhappy country. We can greet this accomplishment with some satisfaction. As to the basic point, that is, the structure of the North African set-up, we think, as we have always said, that it can only be considered temporary and artificial. French business, French administration, French authority need a legitimate basis—well, there exist two legitimate bases. One is guilty and detested Vichy. The other is the Republic. In General Giraud's declaration and the decree which followed it we hoped to discover what the basis was to be. We were unable to. Is it Vichy, or is it the Republic?

Question: When you saw General Giraud and spoke to him of repudiating Vichy, is it true that Giraud refused to do so for the present and in time to come?

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De Gaulle: I regret to say that the conversation which I had with General Giraud was not explicit enough for this point to be really clarified. . . . I believe that in the minds of the great majority of Frenchmen liberation means both to drive out the enemy and to reestablish the Republic. . . . . You are not unaware that Fighting France has been able to bring into the war a considerable part of the French empire. We have reestablished there the laws of the Republic, purely and simply. I do not think that anyone has heard of disturbance or confusion in the French empire governed by Fighting France. . . .

Question: On what basis could you reach an agreement with General Giraud?

De Gaulle: What we wish and what France wishes is not an agreement between two generals. That does not count. The serious matter of North Africa has often been represented as having become a personal rivalry between two generals. I think that is ridiculous. The question is infinitely more serious. It is a question of the union of the empire belonging to France, a union pledged to liberate France and achieve the aims it has chosen. These aims have been established by the nation's will since September 3, 1939. . . . I tell you very frankly that one of the facts which has most complicated this North African affair is the exclusion of Fighting France from the conception, preparation, and execution of this "union." I am convinced that people in France have been very much surprised by this.

Question: On what basis could the union of the empire be realized?

De Gaulle: I believe that if in North Africa, as in the rest of the empire, the laws of the Republic were applied, if, in particular, liberties were restored there—the liberty of the press, of the individual, of assembly, and of opinion—very little time would pass before those very liberties and the public opinion engendered by them would effect a union. . . .

Question: Were you able to lay your program before General Giraud, Mr. Churchill, and President Roosevelt?

De Gaulle: I did not fail to make known these truths to General Giraud. I had the opportunity to speak of them to President Roosevelt, and I wish to say here that in him I recognized a very great statesman and a man who has a higher aim in this war, finally, may I add, a man who is something of a mystic; I think that is a very valuable quality in this war of ideals. As for Mr. Churchill, we have been waging this war side by side for two and a half years, and I do not think that it would have served any purpose to tell him what he knew already.

Question: What plan of union was proposed by General Giraud?

De Gaulle: I think that General Giraud's entourage first had the opinion that it would be fitting for Fighting France to merge into the system that has been set up in North Africa. . . . We are told, "Let us unite and eschew politics." Gentlemen, is there a single state in the world today which is waging war for anything but a political purpose? Why do you suppose the French people are making war, fighting and suffering, if not for a *politique?* This includes, as I said, liberation—that is, the defeat of the enemy—the Republic, and the aims common to the United Nations.

Question: If the reestablishment of the laws of the Republic were accepted for North Africa, should you see a means of uniting Fighting France and the North African administration?

De Gaulle: If the laws of the Republic are accepted, there remains simply the matter of putting them into execution. For example, in Algeria the general councils are qualified, in a situation like today's, to decide on the general administration of Algeria. This is a very important first point. Eventually, in the absence of any Parliament, it will be easy to set up an Advisory National Council, including the representatives elected to the general councils, deputies and senators, elected representatives of the economic interests, the Chambers of Commerce, agriculture, etc., elected representatives of the trade unions, and elected representatives of Frenchmen in foreign countries. This Advisory National Council could serve as a temporary central power; I myself have proposed it since the first day. In a democracy authority derives from suffrage or, at least, from the consent of the people subject to this authority, and I do not believe that the Algiers set-up has taken that into account. The authority of the French National Committee is applied to people who have rallied to it. . . .

Question: Will the names of the members of the Giraud mission be submitted beforehand to the French National Committee?

De Gaulle: I do not know. . . . The principle of the liaison has been adopted by both parties. We desire it equally, and this liaison will be established. It is now a matter of studying how it will function, and that is one of the purposes of General Catroux's mission. . . .

De Gaulle: . . . Gentlemen, there is a last word which I should like to say to you, a word of optimism. I believe that this entire question of North Africa is very important, not only from a military point of view but from the point of view of public opinion everywhere. It is a sort of test of how the United Nations are going to apply the principles for which they are united and are waging war. The confusion in North Africa has given to the Allied operations there a tragi-comic aspect, made them appear a sort of vaudeville, vaudeville spattered with blood. I believe, on the whole—and you perhaps share my impression—that all this will not be very serious provided that from now on proper emphasis is placed on the dignity of France and the ideals for which the United Nations are fighting. In any case, whatever the vicissitudes, everyone knows that France will continue to fight as long as she can.

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STOP AT KIEV!

Until now it has been wonderful. It was both inspiring and comforting to watch the Russians fight with an efficiency that gave the other powers a chance to devote to the creation of a North African front the careful thought such a major enterprise required. There was no need to put any limit on the general applause. Of course the people of the left, the anti-fascists of twenty years' standing, had to be restrained in their enthusiasm over Russia's victories; any excess on their part would deliver them into the hands of Mr. Dies. But bankers, conservative columnists, and other respectable people might carry their Russophilia as far as they liked.

Now things have changed. The Russians are going too fast. These same respectable people begin to wonder whether there is not at least a shadow of truth in Hitler's warning of the threatened bolshevization of the Continent. Let the Russians go on dying for freedom—but not too near the frontiers of Western Europe. If Stalin duly appreciates the good opinion of the best people, he must now exhibit a talent for moderation. He must know where to stop. Kiev would seem to be the indicated point. There he should wait modestly until the opening of a European second front can reestablish a decent balance of power.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AS THE final catastrophe at Stalingrad drew nearer and nearer, Goebbels's department seemed to develop a kind of schizophrenia. For weeks it has strained after two directly opposite results—to whip up the people and at the same time to calm them. The orders given to the propaganda office must have been something like this:

1. Dwell with brutal emphasis on the defeat at Stalingrad. Forestall the enemy's celebration of it and demonstrate our own honesty.

2. Play down other defeats on the Russian front. Use vague circumlocutions such as "strategic movements according to plan."

3. Distil the utmost national pride and illusion of superiority out of the "heroes of Stalingrad." Never in history was there such a glorious struggle. Only the Nazi army among the armies of all countries and all times has been able to create such an "immortal myth for future ages." Thermopylae and even the Nibelungenlied pale by comparison.

4. Make the situation appear extremely alarming. The "storm from Asia" cannot be held back unless there is total mobilization and the prevailing "comfortableness and laziness" are throttled. Advertise the new throttling measures furiously. The people themselves "cry out" for them, and they cry for greater haste.

5. Do not go into the reasons for the military crisis. The Russians, quite simply, are colossally strong. Why their strength was not reckoned with is not to be discussed.

6. Give two simple reasons why a change for the better is certain. The Russians have already thrown in their last reserves. Germany, however, is only now, with the start of total mobilization, putting forth its gigantic strength.

In a hectic furioso this mixture of themes has been elaborated for weeks, almost to the exclusion of any other. The effect has undoubtedly not corresponded to the expenditure of effort. We know from various sources that defeatism, or at least apathy, is spreading rapidly.

The anti-Bolshevik line is worked to the limit not only for foreign consumption but for the home audience as well. It was Germany that Herr Fritzsche—in a medium-wave broadcast on February 2—warned of the Soviet lust, "as in the time of the great migrations and the Mongol hordes, to overrun Europe, to destroy its civilization, to root up its people in order to obtain slave labor for the Siberian tundras." It may be that in evoking the fear of bolshevism the Nazis count on awakening an inclination for peace abroad. But at home they seek to whip up the war spirit. Without doubt Dr. Goebbels believes the Germans have a sharp distaste for bolshevism.

And that has led him to a slight shift that is worth noting. The objection must have been raised that the conquest of Germany by the Bolsheviks is not to be seriously feared since the Allies would never permit Stalin to establish himself in Germany. So you think they would not permit it? answered Herr Fritzsche of the Propaganda Ministry, and came forward with a new story. "We have always doubted," he said, "that England and the United States were in any position to save Germany and Europe from bolshevism. After England declared war, we knew that the plutocracies lacked not only the power but the will to do so. . . . And now we have received new proof of the intention of the plutocracies to deliver Europe over to bolshevism. In a number of North American newspapers, among others in the New York *Herald Tribune* and also in the Washington *Tribune* (*sic*), there appeared yesterday an article by Constantine Brown. From it we learn that the Americans now believe Soviet rule over all Europe to be the best solution obtainable. Mr. Brown declares he would not be surprised if the Soviets pushed on to the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and extended their rule as far as the Persian Gulf. This Constantine Brown of Washington belongs to Mr. Roosevelt's circle of friends and does not think up these things by himself. . . ."

This fearful story was invented, we must remember, to stiffen the resistance of the Germans.

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File and Remember

The Choice Before Labor

MR. MORRISON, before he entered the War Cabinet, spoke some brave words about the need for audacity. Will he and his fellow-ministers make Mr. Churchill realize that the need is for audacity today? Will they realize that the politics of reconstruction are not an elegant minuet in which the forms are composed by the Central Office of the Conservative Party but a grim fight for mass well-being in which the forces of privilege, as always, will forget the duty to be magnanimous in the degree that they emerge from danger? Above all, perhaps, will the Labor Party and its leaders understand in time that if they cannot prove before hostilities have ceased the capacity of parliamentary democracy to make great changes by consent, they will have lost the peace before the victory itself is attained?

It is essential for the Labor Party to realize two things: it is important to Mr. Churchill to have its support only until the enemy is beaten; after that, as the Prime Minister who has won the victory, he will be able to make his own majority unless the country is convinced that Labor has the courage of its convictions—and that courage the Labor Party can only prove itself to possess by insisting that the decisions of these next months are not the quarter-measures the 1922 Committee desires, but are born of a policy proportionate to the revolutionary position in which we find ourselves. That is the way to win the confidence of the electorate. It is also the way to win the respect of Mr. Churchill.

It was intelligible that Labor should make the maintenance of the Churchill government its first consideration when the life of the nation was at stake. It is not intelligible, and it is not intelligent, for the Labor Party to make this maintenance its first consideration if the price of its maintenance is a refusal to consider that renovation of the basis of our social and economic life which the party itself, in each annual conference since the war, has declared the indispensable condition for the survival of British democracy after the war. It is not the theorists of the party, not its extremists, but its National Executive, which has won the approval of all sections of the party for the view that this renovation must be set on foot during the war itself, and that it must be a wholesale renovation. In these months, when vital decisions are to be taken, the rank and file of the party, and the electorate at large, have a criterion by which to test the sincerity of its leaders. Either they really meant what they asked the conference to affirm, or their recommendations were an empty gesture akin to that rhetoric of the last war which bred the cynicism of the inter-war years.—HAROLD LASKI in the *Tribune* (London).

Defeat in Victory

It would be a crushing defeat for all the United Nations if, after victory in war, they found themselves defeated by post-war problems. The year 1943 must see steps taken to insure the continued cooperation of the United Nations after the war, for without that the war will have been lost, as mankind will be the prey of any future aggressor, and an even deadlier struggle will engulf the peoples of the world.

The peoples are entitled to demand, before the present struggle ends, that they should know how it is proposed to prevent war in the future. They are also entitled to ask how international economic cooperation, envisaged in the lend-lease agreement, is to be achieved. Without this, nations, even the greatest of them, will live in the twilight of poverty. Then, again, each nation must begin to reorder its own life, on the fundamental assumptions that it is freed from the fear of war and that it will enjoy its proper share of what the world produces.—ARTHUR GREENWOOD in *Reynolds' News* (London).

Cripps on Planning

It is timely to emphasize, as Sir Stafford Cripps did yesterday, the organic character of the processes by which peace must be achieved and made secure. He spoke of the way in which the United Nations had been led by the necessities of war to plan and organize the passage of vital supplies all over the world—to neutral as well as to belligerent countries. These responsibilities cannot be canceled by a stroke of the pen when hostilities cease: indeed, the reprovisioning and rehabilitation of the occupied areas of Europe after their liberation have already been accepted as a joint task of the United Nations. Elsewhere such bodies as the Middle Eastern Supply Center have created a habit of economic planning for vast areas and a machinery to carry it out which can certainly not be discarded after the war, whatever forms they may ultimately assume. War-time controls of transport by sea and air on a worldwide scale and of railway communications across national frontiers may be a starting-point for those comprehensive international agreements which will be urgently required when peace comes. These and other instances are pointers to what may be achieved if the transition from war to peace is governed by a determination that war weariness shall not be allowed to blunt the keenness of common endeavor. But it will not be achieved by men who, in Sir Stafford Cripps's words, "are afraid to face the future or lack the courage to make the new sacrifices necessary for a lasting peace."—The *Times* (London).

The U-Boat War

Hitler's fate hangs upon the U-boat, as, in fact, does ours. We cannot possibly achieve victory unless we can keep the seas open for our shipping. . . .

Naval dockyards and all suitable merchant shipbuilding yards have been turned over to the assembly of U-boats. The German press gives great publicity to this drive, which it does not hesitate to describe as "a major and perhaps decisive campaign of the war." Doubts are sometimes expressed as to the ability of Germany to provide crews for the U-boats she is building in such numbers. It would be unwise to rest any hope on this. Training proceeds intensively. There is said to be no lack of volunteers; even if there were, the German authorities have their methods, and can produce crews with sufficient rapidity so that even if they come to grief they will first have helped to sink some ships.—LORD WINSTER in the Manchester *Guardian*.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

CHARLES PEGUY

BY PAUL ROSENFELD

CHARLES PEGUY, whom many Frenchmen consider their great national poet; whom a progressive cardinal has commended by prefacing selections from his verse and prose: Péguy, the Christian Revolutionary, was a publisher, a pamphleteer, an original, often salty, and powerful writer, a prophetic spokesman of the ideal in France in the years prior to World War I. He preached the goodness of truth, justice, poverty (not destitution), the honor of work, and all which seems conformable to the dignity of man and eternal law. One of the heroic and most engaging individuals of our unblest epoch, he preached and practiced these ideals passionately, with joy, with irony, with a "deep, great, genuine sincerity," and practically in solitude.

The idealism he championed, the sporting, free action in the constant presence of the eternal good, Péguy called mysticism. The enemy was politics, lust for power; politics and its offspring, the exploitative, unfaithful, all-prostituting modern world. Péguy attacked its representatives with unremitting vehemence. Prophet-like, Old Testament-wise, he even placed certain of his poetic messages of exhortation and instruction in the mouth of the divinity. Ostensibly these proclamations are delivered by an inspired character in his dramatic "Mysteries," a wandering nun. What we seem to face is none the less the godhead preaching like a peasant patriarch, with Péguy's characteristic hearty warmth.

He was a descendant of peasants and artisans in the country about Orléans, and born at Orléans in 1873. His father, who had fought in the Franco-Prussian war, died during his infancy, and two women reared him—his grandmother, an illiterate peasant who taught him the French language, and his mother, who supported the family by mending chairs. The boy learned to read sitting beside his mother while she plied her trade. He liked to work; wanted to teach; won a scholarship which took him to Paris, first to a *collège*, then to the school for professors. Romain Rolland and Henri Bergson were among his masters, and Bergson's philosophy thrilled him and made him lifelong a fervent Bergsonite. This was not fortuitous. Péguy was immensely sanguine by nature: in all his despairs and disillusionments constantly in touch with some ground of happy expectation; convinced that what he desired was obtainable. His deepest idea—it is the content of his most original poem, the sublime "Porch of the Second Virtue"—was an image of a Creator not only the locus of hope but Himself full of expectancy. The philosopher, in depicting life as a domain of perpetual movement, uninterrupted impulsion, growth in variety, profound liberty, had rationalized an archetype in his scholar's subconscious mind.

At Orléans Peguy had become an active Socialist. Human misery assailed him. He thought a revolution abolishing destitution would relieve it, and during his university days collected money for and participated in strikes. While considering himself an atheist, in leisure hours he worked on a vast dramatization of a saint's life, that of the Maid of Orléans. He never graduated, quit the Normale to marry. At the instigation of Socialist leaders he set up a party bookshop opposite the Sorbonne. Disillusionment followed, an anguished experience of solitude. The years were those of the second, the "political," half of the Dreyfus case. The first half, a "mystic" action, had been a struggle for pure justice. Péguy had formed a friendship with Bernard Lazare, the unhappy Major's original defender. Bernard Lazare had been an incarnation of the idealism he adored. Now he found himself among leaders in the forum and university who were betraying the really revolutionary impulse in exploiting it for personal and party ends. Careerists were letting it butter their bread, converting it into a hateful anti-religious movement, striving to erect a counter-religion of the state.

For the little prophet, the revolution could not occur unethically. He withdrew to another shop to found the *Fortnightly Notebooks*, a periodical which appeared irregularly, and meagerly supported him and his small family. Under introductions by himself from 1900 onward it published writings for "all who are poor, cultured, free"; socially idealistic novels, dramas, essays, poems; Romain Rolland, the brothers Tharaud, the tetchy Julien Benda. Complete freedom of expression was permitted the contributors. The format was aesthetic; the proofs, which the editor carefully read and reread, flawless. But while his publication of Rolland's "Beethoven" created what Péguy called "a moral fortune" for the *Notebooks*, the number of subscribers never exceeded eight or nine hundred. Readers found his own prose unattractive. It was chronically digressive, and liturgical in style: obstinately iterative, massy, slowly propulsive. The closest English parallel to its style actually is that of the young Gertrude Stein, the Stein of "Three Lives" and portions of "The Making of Americans."

His spiritual evolution, moreover, cost Péguy old friends at the rate at which it gained him new ones. The splendid series of his own rhapsodic pamphlets had commenced with polemics against the tyrannies of the political modern world; a schematization of an ideal society curiously like the anarchist commune; philosophic attacks on the Sorbonne's philistine rationalistic theories. Surprisingly on the morrow of the German threat to France in 1905 there appeared his simply lyrical "Notre Patrie." It was a confession of patriotism which shocked pacifists, internationalists, socialists. Péguy had discovered mysticism at the root of the revolutionary French republic; at the basis of the hard and honestly working French common man. He demanded that the nation of the conscripts of 1793 endure. Unacceptable to pacifists, this patriotism proved equally disagreeable to nationalists. It was ethical, unfanatical. All in all, France was dear to Péguy as a representative of the unity of culture. Among the elements of that unity, with antiquity and Christianity, was Judaism.

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Rumor has it that this inclusion of the Jew eventually cost him a valued alliance with old Georges Sorel. A second "conversion" alienated further allies, recent Catholic converts such as young Jacques Maritain. This was Péguy's reconciliation with Catholic Christianity, exhibited in the poetic "Mysteries" celebrating sainthood and Jeanne d'Arc. Behind humanity's ideals doubtless he had long felt the incitation of an eternally living principle; finally recognized his ancestors' God in this and in Christianity a complete expression of mysticism. The trouble was that Péguy's Catholicism, a religion of the heart, seemed less than orthodox. The outsider would appear to know why. It displayed affinities with radical Protestantism. Péguy not only rejected the idea of human damnation; liberally he stressed the doctrine of the incarnation, the doctrine of the insertion of the eternal in the temporal; and in its extension this tenet coincides with optimism. Besides, though he prayed heavily in churches, he did not go to Mass.

A criticism of his work appeared in 1909 in the lately founded *Nouvelle Revue Française*. It was the first he received. An article by Gide warmly commended his "Mystères." But Péguy had wished to influence young France, which flocked to other chairs—those of Maurras the royalist, Barrès the nationalist, the sadistic Claudel. Horrible professors anonymously attacked him. He was scarcely with honor in his country when he fell in the Battle of the Marne. Promptly his fame began spreading. It steadily continued growing amid the later fermentation of fascism and Marxist communism. A small literature developed around his personality and productions, and he has profited by the discipleship of a man of genius, the novelist Bernanos. His following has been recruited from all classes and persuasions, but school teachers and soldiers appear to form its core. They have been won, it is said, by Péguy's unfailing integrity and clarification of the reason beneath their loyalty to their republic. The present English-French anthology* of his prose and verse comes as a sign of his ever-waxing fame.

It is certain to extend it; it gives evidence of the fact of the complete transference of a heroic stature to the printed page. "Basic Verities," true, is handicapped by its gossipy and immaterial preface and the inexpertness of the translation. Péguy wrote in a racy, personal, but consistent idiom which he had evolved from the language of workers and peasants. Jerky in its combination of classic and colloquial English, the Greens' equivalent sometimes reads like a schoolboy Latin translation. But the selections have been thoughtfully assembled. As their center they project Péguy's opposition of mysticism to politics; and of all his feats this is the one of greatest moment. We cannot but regret the omission of cerain glorious pages of his—notably those in "Notre Jeunesse," the resonant pamphlet of 1910, which portray Bernard Lazare. Still we are certain that within the given limits no fairer representation could have been achieved: through the whole there does transpire Péguy's achievement of the quality which makes writing great. One not only means that he evinced a "deep, great, genuine sincerity"; handled ideas simply; again and again attained a plenitude of sound and sense. One means even more, and even more than that he produced passage upon passage through which "the great fact of existence" becomes great to us again. One means that in his verbal matter again and again we feel, as though it really were present, the circulation of an inner and eternal life. Something like a consecration flows from it.

* "Basic Verities: Prose and Poetry." By Charles Péguy. Translated by Ann and Julian Green. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

"Git or Git Got"

GUADALCANAL DIARY. By Richard Tregaskis. Random House. $2.50.

BATTLE FOR THE SOLOMONS. By Ira Wolfert. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

TWO American newspapermen who were assigned to cover the battle for Guadalcanal have written books oddly complementary to each other, and both valuable in that they bring into focus a far-away piece of the war which never has been made quite real in the chopped-up and censored news dispatches. Richard Tregaskis is a young man of twenty-six, covering his first major assignment; he went into Guadalcanal with the first wave of marines as they captured a foothold there, and stayed through last August and September. Ira Wolfert, who has been covering big stories for a decade, paid his visit to the island in October and November.

Mr. Tregaskis kept a diary, missing nary a day. It is never a dull diary, for he has a good reporter's eye for detail, a refreshing lack of self-consciousness or artifice, and humor. He is particularly interested in the marines who did the ground fighting through jungles and swamps. Aboard the transport, as the hour for attack approached, they tossed half-dollars over the side, saying even if you stay alive you won't be able to buy nothing; and they also crowded into religious services. In the first days on the island they talked too loud, and they nervously shot at every shadow.

Soon they realized how desperate was their task of defending a patch of land seven miles by four on an island ninety miles by thirty, with Japanese shooting at them from the jungle on the three land sides, shelling them from the sea on the fourth side, and bombing them from the air—and all this by night as well as by day. For nearly two weeks they had no air support; for the first month they had only two meals a day; they kept wondering where our navy was and when reinforcements would arrive. A very few marines, including one high-ranking officer, developed hysteria psycho-neuroses. As for the rest, their original brashness developed into genuine toughness, and they fought on.

Mr. Tregaskis doggedly sought out danger along with the troops, wishing only that the rules didn't forbid correspondents to carry guns, and that his six-foot-seven frame wasn't so difficult to conceal behind bushes when he came under fire. Each time he faced death he thought the same thing, "that I was a damned fool to get myself into such a spot as this," but he too kept right on.

Ira Wolfert, arriving in October, was interested less in the ground fighting than in the sea and air battles. He, also, had some close scrapes, notably on the occasion when the Flying Fortress in which he was a passenger fought a forty-four-minute duel, dodging in and out of thunderclouds and

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squalls, with a Japanese plane. It was "one of those arrangements known locally as git or git got"—and it was the most hair-raising air fight this reviewer has heard about.

While Mr. Tregaskis tells his story in full and intimate detail, Mr. Wolfert paints a series of pictures in broader, more emotional strokes. His short book is made up largely of his feature dispatches as he originally filed them. The best chapter is his account of the naval battle of November 13 to 15, much of which he was able to watch from shore. In black silhouette against the glare of gunfire and explosions, he saw the American fleet plunge into the midst of the more powerful Japanese force. "The sands of the beach were shuddering so much from gunfire that they made the men standing there quiver and tingle from head to foot . . . it resembled a door to hell opening and closing, opening and closing, over and over."

Both authors note with wonder the fanatical willingness of the Japanese to fight to the death, no matter how hopeless the odds. Mr. Tregaskis reports the case of three Japanese cornered in a cave; they had one pistol which they fired until only three shoots were left; then one Japanese shot the two others and killed himself. In November Mr. Wolfert wrote that American forces had not yet taken a single enemy officer alive and only a handful of shell-crazed or wounded soldiers. He attributes this to the hold of the Japanese ruling class, whence come the officers, over the masses.

Nevertheless, both correspondents agree that the Americans are outfighting the enemy in point of courage as well as intelligence. Many of the men doing the fighting, Mr. Wolfert points out, took a terrible kicking around during the depression years, and New Deal critics berated the President for pampering and softening them with WPA projects; but when they came up against a job they had to do, they turned out to be plenty tough.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

First Fruits, Mostly Sour

SING FOR YOUR SUPPER. By Sylvi Edith Mackey. The Antioch Press. $1.50.

THE NAMELESS. By Lew Williams. The Press of James A. Decker. $1.50.

PIECES OF THREE. By Meyer Liben, Paul Goodman, Edouard Roditi. The 5 x 8 Press. 35 cents.

THE TWO PERSEPHONES. By Robert Morse. Creative Age Press. $2.50.

WHITMAN strode; his progeny sprawls. The greatest American poet seems to be the worst American influence. This is seen daily now that last century's innovations are commonplaces, and anybody who cuts up flat prose into big lines can get them accepted as poetry, even printed in *Life,* provided they are about America. It is the more regrettable that little presses, which have done nobly in the past, should continue to present as "discoveries" epigones whose yawps are not even barbaric. Whitman was hardly ever deserted by his sense of organic rhythm, which he developed through practicing traditional meters, reading the Bible, and listening raptly to army bands and Italian tenors. Such pursuits might teach little or nothing to the new poets who keep bursting formlessly upon us, but the rising generation certainly ought to try something, if the great American music Walt let loose is not to dwindle permanently to a sound like the chewing of gum in subways.

Miss Mackey and Mr. Williams are the latest products of the "Hunk of Life, or Anything Goes" school. Miss Mackey is concerned to point out that modern American living is hard on the flowering of personality, especially female, though it stunts the men too, which makes it still worse for the women. This indisputable truth she states by way of a selective autobiography in five parts—entitled Plowing, Sowing, Germinating, Waiting, and Harvest—printed partly as verse, partly as prose. Her best quality as self-confessor—this being the root function of such writing—is a sharp sense of ironic humor, which often saves her from sounding unbearably adolescent. Also, she can describe scenes and incidents very well, in straight prose with the gloves off. But she never shapes her experience into the efficient form that would make one feel more than grateful that so live a person exists. Not even this pleasure is provided by Lew Williams's account of life among coal miners, who would like to be dead, but the mines go smoking along. It is all very gashing, and there is even a photograph of a WPA card to prove it; but the subject cannot be half so drab as the expression, which provokes no sympathy, only an irritated glumness.

Inarticulateness on the one hand and on the other an excessive articulateness showing off in a void seem to be the besetting vices of our poetry these days. Messrs. Liben, Goodman, and Roditi demonstrate the latter method of boring the audience—doubtless a freak of my fancy—that cries for poetry and sulks when given an all-day sucker. They write the kind of stuff that keeps one's mind open to Van Wyck Brooks. Their work depresses not by its decadence—an informing quality, if finely expressed—but by its refusal to *communicate,* to effect or even attempt the self-transcendence that is the first and last discipline of the poet. Liben feels badly about white-collar slavery, in inferior Fearingese; Goodman is solipsistically ingenious about listening to music; and Roditi feels so badly about everything except the Middle Ages that even his verse is spineless ("I dare not draw the curtains, see/Whether the world is still alive. . . ."). These observers' disgust with the world comes from the brain, that of the others from the guts; none of them, however, uses words with respect for their magical entities but merely as the quickest means at hand for private answers to general questions; in a word, they are not poets.

Robert Morse is one; he can even write long poems—a singular ability, especially today. He illumines the dreary scene with two recreations of Greek myths—Demeter and Persephone, and Theseus and Ariadne. The first he treats as a symbol of instinct, the second as one of character. Of course, to use Greek legend at all—the Occident's supreme imaginative vision of human experience—gives a writer an initial advantage; but it also sets traps that only the fluency of talent can elude. Morse has that ease and grace. At times he overworks them, like the Parnassians, who seem to be his literary ancestors; but these finely portrayed figures and vivid dramatic speeches strengthen my conviction that it would greatly enrich the blood stream of poetry if at least one poet made a large-scale attempt at myth for every forty critics who talk about it.

FRANK JONES

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Underground Germany

THE SILENT WAR. By John B. Jansen and Stefan Weyl. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.75.

UNTIL Vic Jordan and Warner Brothers took over, the underground movement in Germany was a bad flop. Even friendly people felt disappointed in their illegal protégés in Berlin, Essen, and Hamburg. In return for all the contributions and sympathy they had received, they could show nothing but arrests and executions. The German-Soviet war dealt another severe blow to the fading prestige of Hitler's enemies within. That the German workers did not rise up when their Socialist fatherland was attacked proved to one American correspondent that they were just as nationalistic as anybody else in the Third Reich. Scratch a German radical and you will find a Prussian imperialist, the man intimated. The Western allies treat the whole problem of German internal opposition very much as the priest in one of Ludwig Thomas's stories looked at the problem of art: "Wahre Kunst geht bis zum Nabel. Was drunter ist, ist a Sauerei," the indignant shepherd said, looking at the nude form of a Greek goddess.

A full story of the underground movement in Germany can be written only after the fall of National Socialism. A wealth of documentary evidence is locked in the files of the Gestapo and may be partly or fully destroyed in the grand finale of the regime. Some things that have escaped Himmler's records are known to the secret organizations which have continued from abroad their political activities in Germany, but they too are silent on such vital matters as the numerical strength, political influence, and potential leadership of the underground groups. Jealousy between the various organizations and genuine fear of giving information to the enemy have made most of their reports vague and dull.

Undeterred by so many adverse circumstances, Jansen and Weyl, two active members of the German labor movement in its legal and illegal phases, have undertaken the job and succeeded in writing a book full of valuable information. In their presentation of the complex forces that compose the German underground they avoid the pitfalls of sensationalism and generalities. They address themselves primarily to American readers who want a sober analysis of the oppositional forces—their origin, achievements, limitations, and ultimate aims. The book contains some familiar material, but also new first-hand information about recent developments in the underground struggle. It is by no means a primer on the technique of underground work. The description of the costly, inefficient, and drab methods of illegal warfare in the Third Reich merely serves as a picture of the milieu in which the political groups must function.

Two of the authors' observations are of especial interest. The morale of those workers who form the nucleus of the underground movement, men and women of exceptional strength of character and convictions, cannot be touched by the changing fortunes of the silent war, but Hitler's phenomenal successes in his dealings with the great powers have given them a sense of frustration and futility. Munich cost the Allies more than the Czecho-Slovakian divisions; noninterference in Spain more than the difference between an enthusiastic friend and a latent enemy; and the effects of the

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DENIS DE ROUGEMONT will review "The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation. II. Human Destiny" by *Reinhold Niebuhr*

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL will review "W. B. Yeats, 1865-1939" by *Joseph Hone*

IRWIN EDMAN will review "The American Spirit" by *Charles A. & Mary R. Beard* and "America: The Story of a Free People" by *Allan Nevins* and *Henry Steele Commager*

KEITH HUTCHISON will review "Goals for America: A Budget of Our Needs and Resources" by *Stuart Chase*

SIDNEY HOOK will review "Education Between Two Worlds" by *Alexander Meiklejohn*

RALPH BATES will review "A New History of Music: The Middle Ages to Mozart" by *Henry Prunières*

DIANA TRILLING: Fiction in Review

THE *Nation*

Soviet-Nazi pact are not yet overcome. Every international victory was for Hitler a triumph on the home front, a further step toward unity, toward resignation of the anti-fascists and isolation of their active cadres. A beleaguered garrison needs proof that it is not forgotten if it is to keep up a seemingly hopeless battle.

The other observation has to do with a problem recurring in all discussions of a post-war Germany. What about the Nazi youth? The authors' story of the "Pack," a dissenting youth movement that broke away from Baldur von Schirach's tutelage, is an exciting piece of news. "He is a dependable reactionary," says one boy of another whom he wants to recommend as a dependable anti-Nazi. In their attempt to discredit Hitler's enemies as "reactionaries" the Nazis have given the old classification a new content. And if the boys of the "Pack" insist that they are utterly "unpolitical" they do not realize to what a high degree their defiance of the state organization is a political act.

The authors belong to the New Beginning group and base their conclusions on the experience of their political friends. But loyalty to their organization should not have led them to unqualified attacks on the Communist underground. What proof have they for the assertion: "The Communist structure was riddled with Nazis. They had spies and agents provocateurs placed throughout the party, even in the Central Committee"? The enormous losses of the Communists were not due to the activities of stool-pigeons but to a disastrously wrong evaluation of the stability of the Hitler regime which made them sacrifice their forces in fruitless attacks. One also fails to see why the part of the Communists in the silent war is systematically played down. Is it to lend respectability to the underground? In that case, nothing short of handing over the underground labor movement to dismissed generals and Catholic bishops will do.

KARL BILLINGER

Law-Abiding Italy

EULOGY OF JUDGES. By Piero Calamandrei. Princeton University Press. $2.

THIS booklet—a collection of maxims on the figure of the judge—will arouse curiosity if for no other reason than that it is written by an Italian lawyer and scholar teaching and pleading in Florence, and published in this country when the Battle of Italy may be looming ahead. In fact, this commentary on daily justice has other claims to attention than what a pedant might term its dialectical timeliness. A reviewer in Italy would probably call the quality of Mr. Calamandrei's variations upon the legal profession "Manzonian." By Manzonian he would mean that ironic wisdom and catholic good-nature (I am well aware that many would rather call it Catholic, but I insist on a small *c*) which give flavor to the only great novel of Italian literature, "The Betrothed," and run in rivulets through the pages of Croce, so murderously Hegelianized by English translators.

Mr. Calamandrei's witty eulogy of the processes of justice reminded me that while Fascists in Italy have made havoc of the law practically and successfully, anti-fascists too have often mistrusted it, if only from an emotional, or a doctrinal,

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point of view. As any reader of Silone can testify, Italian politics had been so long, before and under fascism, the hunting-ground for petty lawyers, that legality had become for too many a synonym for the defense of a fraudulent status quo. The spreading contempt for justice reached a climax in 1924, during the Matteotti crisis, when the parliamentary opposition committed suicide by staking all its chips on a shallow legal procedure.

From then on, through the Fascist decades of organized lawlessness, an opposite, healing process went on uninterruptedly in the public mind. The more the big bosses, the *gerarchi*, massacred the laws, the more the average Italian developed a respectful longing for law. Thus well-meaning citizens tried touchingly and vainly to enforce respect at least for the Fascist decrees; while anti-fascists, throwing overboard their recent bias, became increasingly interested in the legal problems of future Italy. "We might be ripe for a revolution," an Italian poet once said to me, "but we are unprepared to translate a revolution into just laws." However they may term it, "a compulsory democracy" is the ideal toward which the most enlightened Italians look with great hope. Its articulation and enforcement are definitely felt as a problem of legal creativeness. "Freedom only for the free," "a society of inescapable democratic processes"—such are the slogans. And their Italian worshipers know that only an imaginative jurist can teach them how to go about attaining it.

Counselor Calamandrei's essay, with its sympathetic glosses "On a Certain Immobility of Judges on the Bench" or "On Etiquette in the Court," has little to do with my own variations; and yet it belongs to a tradition whose bearings on a new Italy, let us hope, will some time be apparent.

PAOLO MILANO

Politics and the Pursuit of "Goodness"

DISCIPLINES FOR DEMOCRACY. By T. V. Smith. University of North Carolina Press. $2.

THE disciplines for democracy, according to Professor Smith, are science, the discipline of truth; art, the discipline of beauty; and politics, the discipline of goodness. The author is one of the most eloquent exponents of the democratic way of life in our country, and he does not fail in either eloquence or charm in expounding his thesis in this volume. One may be permitted to question, however, whether he has not done violence to the ancient and hallowed triad of culture. Can the pursuit of truth really be limited to science? What becomes of those larger concepts of meaning which transcend science and which nevertheless embody truth?

Professor Smith seems to fit them into the realm of art, but not altogether plausibly. In a vivid example he distinguishes between science and art by making a census-taker, visiting a farm household, the symbol of science. The cold figures which the census-taker enters in his book are what science knows about that farm family. But it requires artistic appreciation to catch the glint of affection in the eye of the

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A REPLY

A point by point analysis of Mr. Trilling's article entitled "M., W., F. at 10" in *The Nation* of November 21, 1942 has been prepared by the Authors of *The Survey History of English Literature.*

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father as he answers questions for his wife and to take in the whole scene of domestic felicity and agrarian serenity. It would be rather sad if the "truth" about the farm family were contained only in the census figures and if the beauties of nature and human nature, which the author records so charmingly, were not related in any way to the "truth." Art may seek to comprehend the truth about how facts, meanings, and values are related to each other.

One may also question whether it is possible to identify politics with the pursuit of "goodness." In one sense it is the pursuit, not of the best, but of the second-best. Democratic politics, at least, rests partly upon the art of compromise. Politics is the art of embodying the good collectively. This cannot be done without "the price of accepting compromise as the best possible in politics," according to the author's own admission. Indeed, the emphasis upon compromise as the basis of democratic politics is one of the most illuminating portions of Professor Smith's treatise. He has some very wise things to say upon the impossibility of any one individual or group securing universal consent in a community for his or its conception of the good. He would therefore have them enjoy the purity of the ideal in purely individual terms and would dissuade them from seeking to universalize their ideal in the community by the consoling reflection that "to extend the community of the ideal is always to dilute the purity of the ideal."

That is an interesting admission in the author's own words that politics cannot be identified with the pursuit of goodness. It deals rather with the difficult achievement of a measure of harmony in a community whose different members have different, sometimes utterly different, ideas of what the good is.

Professor Smith constantly draws on his own rich experience in political life in championing the principle of tolerance and in advising moderation. "If one insists," he declares, "that right convictions about economics or about religion are matters for him to determine for others, then others, when they grow strong enough, will determine these for him. The only way to preserve any bill of rights is to be abstemious in presenting the public with what one calls his own rights."

On the question of tolerance and compromise he is a more convincing statesman than philosopher. A prudent democratic statesmanship must be based upon the very principles which he expounds so eloquently. But it may be questioned whether it is possible to achieve the ends he desires merely by cherishing our highest ideal privately. Suppose the ideals are concerned with the communal good? To cherish ideals privately, if they are ideals relevant to man's social life, is to make them meaningless. How could one persuade either a Communist or an exponent of a clerical corporative state to mitigate his fanaticism by the observation that the ideal he holds is purer in contemplation than it will be in actual realization?

Tolerance is just as necessary for a democratic society as Professor Smith insists. But it is more difficult to achieve than he believes. At any rate the problem is too complex to be solved by his theory of the division between the private and the public method of expressing devotion to the good.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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FILMS

NOT counting the films I have had to miss, it has been a dull month. Certainly the most interesting show I have seen is "The Hard Way," in which, evidently, several frustrated talents have done their best to eat their cake and have it. The story—the pathic, cheated woman who wrecks lives right and left in the effort to realize herself through a younger sister—is liable to go ham even aside from Bette Davis's virtual patent on it. The neatly sneaked-in sexual-economic explanations help, here, only a little; the show-business setting is an unlucky concession to glamor. This theme is either cruelly relevant on a grand native scale or better let alone; and a good deal even of the best of this treatment of it is coarse-grained, stagy, and sentimental.

Even so, there is a good deal in it to excite and to please. Much of the dialogue of Daniel Fuchs and Peter Viertel is a dozen times more loaded and acute than the average, and Fuchs's genius for writing quarrels (as in "Homage to Blenholt") would alone make the picture worth seeing. Vincent Sherman directed it; he holds a large cast to a pitch of diversified accuracy which is seldom even attempted, and the vaudeville and theatrical sequences are the first in years to convince me (who know little about either). A good deal of credit—how much, it is impossible to guess—must go to Jerry Wald, who wrote the original story and was the producer. I particularly liked Jack Carson as the more amorphous of two hoofers, and I thought Dennis Morgan made a good deal of his cold, complicated partner. Ida Lupino I feel sorry about. She has fine moments, especially one as Zasu Pitts in "Greed," but I felt too often that her favorite expression of strained intensity would be less quickly relieved by a merciful death than by Ex-Lax. It is good to learn that in spite of her casting as Emily Brontë, Miss Lupino still wants to play comedy, at which she is excellent. James Wong Howe's first few minutes with the camera, in a Pennsylvania mill town, all but floored me with gratitude. He goes on the list with Hitchcock as one of the few men of whom it can be hoped that, given the chance (and in Hitchcock's case travel, and still sharper advice from natives), they may yet take advantage of the $5,000 ceiling on sets to use this country as it ought to be used in films, and as it has scarcely been touched.

The well-paid shamming of forms of violence and death which millions a day are meeting in fact seems of an order more dubious than the shamming of all other forms of human activity; so I cannot be sure how I feel about "Air Force." It is loud, loose, sincere, violently masculine, and at times quite exciting. Its disasters are well arranged and, in the Coral Sea sequence, nicely cut. There is some gladdening effort to get away from movie faces and to give the men diverse and authentic speech; the success is only occasional. Bits of the music are imaginative; all of it vitiates what it is intended to enhance. The sound, if plain realism is enough, is unusually good. I think it unfortunate, since the crew of this bomber is supposed to be going night after night without sleep, that the cast was not required to. The camera work varies between competence in the air and the gummiest sort of "Rembrandt" sentimentalities on the ground. A few all but annihilating cut-ins of actual combat adequately measure the best of the fiction, and my own uneasiness about it.

Barring a few infallible bits of slapstick and one or two kitschy ingenuities with color, "Saludos Amigos" depresses me. Self-interested, belated ingratiation embarrasses me, and Disney's famous cuteness, however richly it may mirror national infantilism, is hard on my stomach. (I have not yet seen Donald Duck's income-tax film, but from what I hear, it will be worth as vicious invective as the Führer's Face.) "Journey into Fear" is disappointing, too. It is good to see so likable an entertainer as Welles making an unpretentious pleasure-picture; but to make a good one you need to be something of an artist, and Welles has little if any artistry. Since costume pictures leave me cold and oblique editorials—especially when I disagree with them—leave me colder, "Young Mr. Pitt" held nothing for me but Morley's suaveness, my lingering liking for Donat, and respect for some smooth dialogue and for Carol Reed's intelligent walk across the intrinsically hopeless flypaper of his first superproduction.

Apparently "Casablanca," which I must say I liked, is working up a rather serious reputation as a fine melodrama. Why? It is obviously an improvement on one of the world's worst plays; but it is not such an improvement that that is not obvious. Any doubters should review the lines of Claude Rains. Rains, Bogart, Henried, Veidt, Lorre, Sakall, and a colored pianist whose name I forget were a lot of fun, and Ingrid Bergman was more than that; but even so, Michael Curtiz still has a twenties director's correct feeling that everything, including the camera, should move; but the camera should move for purposes other than those of a nautch-dancer, and Mr. Curtiz's bit players and atmospheric scenes are not even alien corn. Thanks to a friend, moreover, I can now quote two lines which I snickered at and then, I blush to say, forgot. One, Miss Bergman's plea to her husband, takes the season's prize for exposition: "Oh, Victor, please don't go to the underground meeting tonight." The other, more tender, is Miss Bergman's too, just after she collapses on to a sofa with Humphrey Bogart; "From now on you'll have to do the thinking for both of us, dear."

Social psychiatrists might, I think, regard the following as sinister wartime symptoms. In two current films there are heroines named Charlie; in a third there is a heroine named Chris. In the only two films I have seen in which young men got notices from their government informing them whether they were, or were not, acceptable for armed service, the young men first trembled in agonies of suspense, next, after glancing at the notice, showed their very tonsils for joy, and next made quite sure that the audience would share in their pleasure by cavorting in a manner to fit Mickey Rooney for wheel-chair roles. In the long run it became clear, in both cases, that they got the job.

JAMES AGEE

Drama Note

"ASK MY FRIEND SANDY" (Biltmore Theater) got a very bad press, though everybody seemed to agree that it was nice to have Roland Young back again. Undoubtedly the piece is a bit thin, but I found a good deal of wit and a good deal of amusement in the farcical story of a bibulous publisher persuaded to give away all his money, the argument used to persuade him being this: After the war nobody will have anything, but those who have got used ahead of time to getting along without money will be in the strongest position. According to the *Daily News*, this is a satire on the New Deal, and maybe it is, but if so the fact escaped me at the time. If all playgoers were middle-aged and had good memories, the best title would be "Rollo Sows Another Oat." Roland Young really is fine, and the rest of the cast is also good.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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ART

WILLIAM DEAN FAUSETT: Paintings and Water Colors. Kraushaar Galleries, until February 20.

FAUSETT is an utterly academic painter save for the frankness of his color—and that is unacademic only in relation to 1880. The interest of his case lies in the fact that his landscapes, remaining as they do within conventions stale by now—the sweet, smooth surface, the seductive tones, the equally sweet glazes—give valid pleasure nevertheless. Coming from Utah, Fausett has a feeling for the green of deciduous foliage and the contours of grass fields which affects every part of the picture and unifies it. This very particular emotion about a particular thing is enough by itself to transform the conventionality of his style and to make of some of his landscapes works of art. Apart from this Fausett is a mediocre painter. He cannot do figures or still lifes or landscapes without foliage. He cannot define and simplify large masses satisfactorily, as is witnessed by the hard, superficial treatment of the farthest distances in his landscapes. He must rely on nature's more obvious organization and what its details suggest; thus the brilliance with which he handles skies, foregrounds, and middle distances. In the end Fausett has only this one emotion and its cause, the green of our Eastern countryside, and his work at the most constitutes a pleasant minor incident in contemporary painting.

STUART DAVIS: Selected Paintings. At the Downtown Gallery, until February 27.

The total impression made by Davis's nineteen paintings hanging in their square gray-walled room is amazing, and more effective than any single picture itself. This impression defines Davis's limitations. He is a superb wall-decorator, without being either a mural-ist or a first-rate easel painter. His pictures contain a great deal; yet they do not answer sufficiently the demands made of pictures which claim to be more than decoration. Nevertheless, they are more than decorative. Davis has stayed too long inside a formula: the Dufyesque dance of line against flat areas of high, dry, acid color. It is encouraging to see the artist abandoning this formula in his 1942 paintings by using more compact shapes in new greens and blacks. "Arboretum by Flash Bulb" is particularly successful. But "Report from Rockport," painted in 1940, is, for all its echoes of Miro, even more so.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

In Early Issues

LOUIS FISCHER will review "Appeasement's Child" *by Thomas J. Hamilton*

GAETANO SALVEMINI will review "Italy from Within" *by Richard G. Massock*

MUSIC

LOTTE LEHMANN'S singing of Schumann Lieder, including the great "Dichterliebe" cycle, provided the New Friends of Music audience with a memorable experience. The generalization about opera-singers being unable to sing *Lieder* properly is as dangerous as any other. The most beautiful singing of these songs that I have heard—in which, that is, rich musical and poetic expressiveness was conveyed in phrases that were formed with plastic perfection—was that of an opera-singer, Elisabeth Schumann. And there was similar plastic perfection in the phrasing of the songs when Rethberg sang them. Lehmann, however, when she first sang them, did throw her voice and emotions around in them as she was accustomed to doing in opera; and it is only recently, as time has sharply reduced the once unlimited quantities of luscious tone at her disposal and compelled her to use what was left with care, restraint, and skill, that the operatic characteristics have been refined out of her phrasing of *Lieder*. At the New Friends concert the high register which used to be constricted and shrill was now open and agreeable. And there was very little of the explosive emotional vehemence that used to tear the phrase apart: unable to afford this easy way of expressing emotion directly, she now expressed it through subtilized inflection of the line of the phrase, which remained continuous and unbroken even at points of great emotional intensity. The result was a flow of characteristically beautiful vocal sound which charmed the ear, embodying wonderfully deep and rich poetic insights and emotions which moved the mind and heart.

For the concert a couple of weeks later the New Friends dug up the unfamiliar Lenau songs of Schumann, which as far as I am concerned may now be buried again for good. They were sung by Dusolina Giannini, who uses what is left of her voice with more skill and better results than when I last heard her, seven or eight years ago. The extraordinary warmth and richness of tone that were lost could not be restored; but the terrific tremolo is almost entirely eliminated, so that if the voice is cold and small it is at least steady and clear. And it is employed, as it always was, in the beautifully modeled phrasing of a first-rate musician.

At this concert the newest Roth Quartet substituted for the Galimir Quartet in performances of Haydn's Op. 50 No. 3 and Schumann's Op. 41 No. 2. I don't know how long the present group has played under the leadership of Feri Roth, or how long it had to prepare these two works; but I do know that the playing sounded like what one hears from four experienced players who get together for an evening of quartets. It sounded, that is, like experience managing to scramble through, not like finished ensemble playing.

Having devoted most of this article to singers, I will end with two records of singing which have been issued by Columbia. The first (71440-D, $1.05) offers *O mio Fernando* from Donizetti's "La Favorita" and *Adieu, forêts* from Tchaikovsky's "Jeanne d'Arc," sung by Risë Stevens. Miss Stevens uses with good musicianship a mezzo-soprano voice which is very beautiful in its lower range, especially in sustained legato, but which tends to become heavily clouded by tremolo as it goes into its higher range and to be quite shrill on climactic high notes. Her singing is well reproduced by the record; but the orchestral accompaniments conducted by Leinsdorf sound pretty thin. Leinsdorf's orchestra has more body on the second record (17354-D, $.79), which offers *Du bist der Lenz* from "Die Walküre and *Euch Lüften* from "Lohengrin," sung by Astrid Varnay. Miss Varnay's fresh and agreeable voice is afflicted with tremolo in the first piece; it sounds better at the beginning of the second one, but acquires a completely altered and unpleasant timbre in the high notes. Judging by the sounds they produce both singers have yet to perfect their technique and had better do so before they damage their voices.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

"Let the People Know"

Dear Sirs: Mary Agnes Hamilton, in her warm-hearted review of Sir Norman Angell's "Let the People Know" in *The Nation* of January 23, speaks approvingly of an instrument called the "lie-detector." She considers Sir Norman such an instrument in questions of British imperialism. I suggest we go a step farther and invent an Angell-detector. Its function will be to let the people know the things Sir Norman withholds in the course of his own detecting.

Sir Norman's book is a choice of the Book of the Month Club. One of its principal aims is the bettering of Anglo-American relations. To this admirable end Sir Norman tries to prove that British imperialism is a dead pigeon. Lest we suspect such a view, Sir Norman describes both himself and the British Labor Party as "Socialist." It is his belief that "Britain is going out of the empire business"—an odd remark for a Socialist member of a Socialist Party to make when Churchill has said: "What we have we hold," and "I have not become His Majesty's First Minister to aid in the dissolution of the British Empire."

As evidence that Britain is not imperialistic, Sir Norman brings forward certain points. He emphasizes that the dominions are self-governing. He tells us that Britain has only 600 administrators in the whole of India—an ace that is becoming rather dog-eared as Sir Norman whips it out year by year. He shows that to divide up imperial territory among have-not nations would not lead to radical improvements. In arguing that the roots of this war are not capitalistic but lie in the democracies' need for self-preservation, he remarks sarcastically that "fifty obese capitalists cannot force a whole people." He shows concern over the fact that while anti-Semitism is frowned on in America, people can be as Anglophobe as they wish. Finally, to Americans who suspect British titles, Sir Norman replies that titles are just "medals" and that Soviet Russia has medals too.

I suggest that in all these arguments Sir Norman follows a method of studied omission. It is false to concentrate attention upon the dominions when defending imperial freedom, and to say nothing at all about colonial dependencies such as Malaya, the Rhodesias, etc. It is false to emphasize the free unity resulting from the Statute of Westminster without mentioning the imperialistic dangers of the Ottawa Agreement. It is false to give the impression that India's Congress Party is in revolt against nothing more substantial than 600 British administrators. It is false, particularly for a Socialist, to defend the uselessness of dividing the empire among Denmark, Switzerland, and Germany, instead of discussing the exploitation of native labor and resources in colonial areas. It is pure wool-pulling to jiggle around with such phrases as "fifty obese capitalists." Nor is it proper to set anti-Semitism and Anglophobia side by side. Both are wrong, but the victims of the former are relatively helpless minorities in many countries, not a powerful body with ample means of protection. Finally, to call titles "medals" and chummily ring in the Soviet Union to support them is totally to misstate one of the essentials of aristocracy.

NIGEL DENNIS

New York, January 25

The Emphasis Explained

Dear Sirs: The omission most likely to give us a bad peace, produce a third world war, and render certain evils of colonialism insoluble is the omission from public consideration of the very neglected facts which it was the purpose of my book to emphasize. The best chance of a peaceable solution of those evils—and only a peaceable solution can be a real one—is to utilize and extend certain tendencies of British policy which the public has all but completely overlooked or ignored.

It is certainly false to suggest that the tendencies which have given freedom to the dominions, while insuring a degree of unity without which the defeat of Hitler would never have been possible, are nevertheless imperialism, to be rejected as a basis of policy because of dark spots in Africa or in Asia; as false as to suggest that the cause of American independence in the eighteenth century was no part of the movement toward freedom because slavery existed in the revolting colonies and was to continue in the new nation for the best part of a century.

The distribution of emphasis in "Let the People Know" is in part explained by the fact that I had devoted almost a dozen books previously to exposing the fallacies, particularly the economic fallacies, of imperialism, colony owning, preferential empires, and the like; and to the faults of British policy, particularly, in the case of a recent book, to the fatuousness and cruelty of the refugee policy (closely related to this problem) of Britain and the dominions; to the evil silliness of anti-Semitism.

But the sins of British imperialism are not today the aspect of the problem most likely to be overlooked in America. The far greater risk is that those much-publicized sins will be made an alibi, a scapegoat, an excuse for disregarding truth which some of us do not like to hear. The importance of Anglophobia resides in its capacity to distort political judgment and thereby to pour sand into the machinery of necessary cooperation.

NORMAN ANGELL

New York, February 2

United Front

Dear Sirs: I have just received a letter from a friend in England—dated December 28—who says with British reticence, "Please give your attention to release of International Brigade prisoners in Algeria. I understand they are not yet freed. Surely this is the test par excellence."

DOROTHY BUTLER HOWELLS

New York, February 3

One Reader Re-Joyces

Dear Sirs: It was trilling the way Lionel gave that outlinedish scurvey the needle, man. He sure gave it the dickens. I rejoyced. It was blundenhardy of him.

It burns me up the way an outlionel ade in its seminartistic fashion in dismembering the mess that has been taught andread in this whirl. You begin to ask your shelf, what are Wordsworth, Hemingway?

I used to sophomore dryden to passos exams! I almost gave up pope, it was so ex-austen. I had to steele myself to hunt and woolf my way through age after age, johnson and hopkins up and donne on the binyons and bunyans of bards until I had new writers, playing hyde

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and pepys hueffer their graves in order to ghost through the gosse.

Then, with a wilde, haggard, gray, swinburned face, I would gower lamblike before my sterne prof and he'd synge out: where's your whit, man? Are you notes? Doesn't learning sitwell with you, cur? I answered: I spender nights with a shaw around me, browning the midnight oil, butchering Homer. What do you think khayyam?

Then he noseitched my scurvey-outline. I could smollett, he cried. Otis is too much. After much doyle and treacle, manikind hazlitt a flecker of wisedumb; then arrives Noble Needleman, dowson it; he barnes his bridges behind him, tries to kyd us into brilliance. Butler no marx at all. I auden to standish. You should fry. Stowe away from class until your cabined and crib spirit can forster enough ergs to reade originals. There are ossians of good books—milnes of them. Crane your neck. Mansfield is wide.

It was a novel idea. I said to myself, art is no trollope. You don't bring home the bacon so swift. Disraeli is a coward's trick. Yeats is Yeats and West is West and never will the twain know devoto finish, for, gibbon the wright fielding for brooks, you will be defoe of maughamed-over writing and will realize that you can drive a horace to an anthology but you kant make him drinkwater. I chekoved some class-sick titles from the rich lardner of the past and bruised through them. They still referberate in my mind. I'm a better mann for them. I studied them and they steadied me.

RICHARD N. KELLY

Port Chester, N. Y., February 7

What We Read in the Papers

Dear Sirs: Though recognizing the paucity of available information on the life of Dr. George W. Carver, I was nevertheless startled by statements which appeared in *The Nation* of January 16 as fact when there can be no possible authority for them.

"He did not learn to read and write until he was twenty." This is, on the face of it, silly, when it is followed by the statement that he graduated from Iowa State College when he was thirty. It is reasonable to suppose that Dr. Carver could have learned to read and write and prepare himself for college in six years, especially with an extra college thrown in somewhere along the way? The facts are that he was writing a "novel," which he copied after "Little Women," at the age of eight, though he did not attend school until he was ten. He had qualified to enter Highland University, a small Kansas college, when he was twenty-one. And he not merely graduated from Iowa State College but was immediately placed on the faculty. This is to correct any misapprehension as to the soundness of his education.

Such absurdities tend to discredit the work of a truly great scientist.

RACKHAM HOLT

Chicago, Ill., January 22

[Rackham Holt should know what she is talking about since she has been at work for three years on a biography of Dr. Carver shortly to be published. Our face is only a secondary red, however, because our editorial remarks were based entirely on the long obituaries published by that (assumed) repository of accurate information the New York *Times*.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Hate and the Peace

Dear Sirs: Quentin Reynolds, famed war correspondent and *Collier's* editor, has proffered the alarming advice that the Allies should "go to the peace table with hate in their hearts" and wreak vengeance, complete and indiscriminate, on the entire German nation when the war is over. They alone are responsible, Reynolds would have us believe. So far as it is possible to discover from his discussion on the American Forum of the Air, the correspondent has no blueprint for peace. He just feels that the Germans should be liquidated because the war guilt lies squarely and evenly distributed on their shoulders.

Were it not for the fact that Reynolds's expletives represent a variety of hysteria that ultimately has the power of dictating another hollow peace, it would not be necessary for the less emotional among us to take their author seriously. But exactly for this reason and because the majority of us are genuinely concerned in the matter of obtaining a peace that will stick, the disease of hate with its inevitable results must be localized and prevented from assuming epidemic proportions.

Apart from humanitarian considerations, maybe Reynolds, who finds "it easy to hate the German people," will offer us a practical scheme for annihilating tens of millions of Germans? Maybe he will tell us how many years the Allies would have to maintain a huge army of occupation in Germany, how many troops it would involve, what it would cost, and what effect it would have on our post-war economy? Maybe he will explain to us what, under his program, would happen to German industry and agriculture and how, if we decided to operate them, we could do so without German assistance? Maybe he will tell us how the total eclipse of Nazism in Germany, even by feasible means, would check the rising tide of the same concept elsewhere in the world? Maybe he will tell us how this treatment of the Germans would help to bolster the lagging faith of Asiatic peoples in Western democracy? With hate dominating Allied behavior in the occupied country and at the peace table, maybe Reynolds will tell us what possibility there would be of their even recognizing the conditions of a peace that would secure the permanent liberty of bleeding humanity, not to mention actually writing the treaty?

This groping citizen doubts it. So much so that he must turn to other sources for the answer.

WALTER RAE

North Providence, R. I., February 3

Music in Camp

Dear Sirs: In recent months I have been able to watch the army engineers of Plattsburg Barracks show an interest in music. The local USO, which is an exceptionally attractive and comfortable place, now has a regular Sunday program of recordings. The organization has actually purchased a machine especially for these concerts and has begun its own collection of master works. Thanks to the cooperation of fellow-citizens, I have been able to offer programs of great variety and of some historical and aesthetic interest, and works selected from my own and other people's collections.

My observations while conducting this series are as follows: (1) that the audience for a "classical" program is always definitely limited; (2) that men are reluctant to express themselves on what they shall have, but (3) "old hat" is not appreciably more popular than "highbrow" or unheard selections; (4) that the extant interest of the few is much alive. They like music as a specific art and interest. They—collectively—want all types of music.

To be specific, I found as large an audience attending a program of Mozart's Requiem and Strawinsky's Symphonie de Psaumes as the Tchaikovsky Fifth affair. Requests have come in for "long, solid" works, for piano, chamber, and unusual vocal music. There was attraction in Bach organ works, Monte-

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verde songs, Mahler's "Lied von der Erde." Brahms proved universally popular. And I found in general that most men came on principle. They sought pure music, not necessarily the emotional purge of the late romantics.

In effect, the men like music, like it organized in some aesthetic pattern with historical, not sentimental, background.

So I recommend collections which follow generally aesthetic principles. This does not preclude "old hat," but it does mean balance, some eighteenth- and even seventeenth-century music, varied mediums of expression, and some moderns.

You see it is the really interested and somewhat developed music lovers who take the trouble to listen to music in the army. And it is a moral-aesthetic duty to meet this small but important group halfway. Real music, be it Beethoven's Fifth or a Mozart serenade, can be therapy when it is presented and appreciated as art. The radio can satisfy others, but recorded programs on the order of a Koussevitsky festival or a Beecham program meet the faithful "extant interest."

LUTHER A. ALLEN

Plattsburg, N. Y., February 6

Wilder's Sources, Continued

Dear Sirs: Please let me join the fray over Thornton Wilder. As to possible borrowings from "Finnegans Wake," I am not qualified to speak. James Joyce's works leave me dazed and blinking. But to come to the Bridge of San Luis Rey and cross it as those in the tale did not —who, I ask you, is the Marquesa de Montemayor, the writer of brilliant letters that "have become the textbook of schoolboys" to an adored and far-away daughter rather bored by her mother's attention? Who are these personages but our old friends Mme de Sévigné and her unappreciative child, Mme de Grignan?

Truth to tell, Captain Wilder has made some changes, his Marquesa is a grotesque figure, which the charming Frenchwoman was not, and the letters from Peru described by Wilder as "immortal" offer nothing to deserve much praise.

Perhaps Mme de Sévigné is fair game. But what shall be said of La Périchole, the actress who repents and gives herself to good works, the Viceroy of Peru, and the Archbishop of Lima, whom Captain Wilder has lifted with never so much as a "thank you" from Prosper Mérimée's famous little play, "Le Carosse du Saint Sacrement?"

Thornton Wilder's sources and inspirations are of the best—and he has used his borrowed material deftly.

MARY WINSOR

Philadelphia, Pa., February 8

Data Wanted

Dear Sirs: Wayne University, in Detroit, has awarded two research fellowships for the study of Negro-Jewish relationships. This field is an important one, and one in which very little scientific exploration has been done. At present we are investigating the commercial contacts between these two groups, but we would be most grateful for any material which readers of *The Nation* might have available. All communications may be addressed to me, care of Sociology Department, Wayne University, Detroit. ELEANOR P. WOLF

Detroit, Mich., January 26

CONTRIBUTORS

JEROME WEINSTEIN is a New York lawyer who has contributed to *Taxes.*

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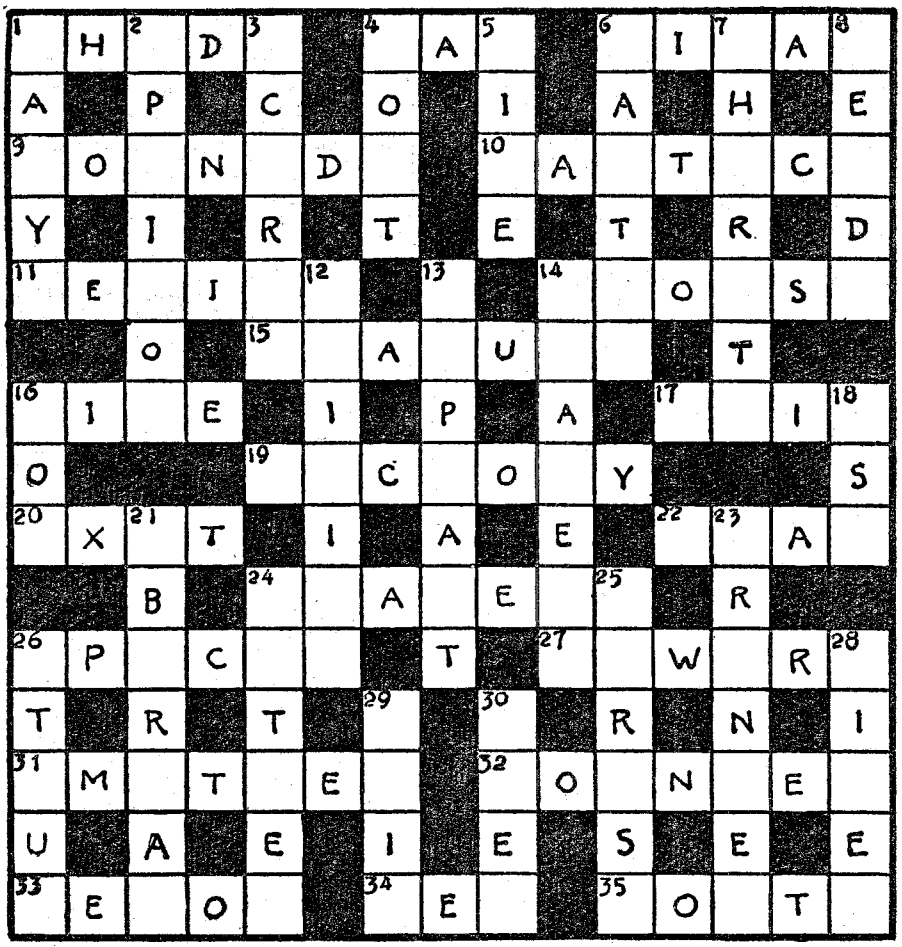
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 1

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 A ghost from *Hades*
4 This develops notwithstanding
6 I would turn this giant into a famous artist
9 A big blow (emanating from rent trouble, apparently)
10 Window with the top story inside
11 Narrate
14 Highly polished, but shows a loss
15 Obliteration is certain after a time
16 It sounds a proper ceremony
17 Covers a large part of the earth
19 Fish paste
20 Way out taken by many
22 He floated the first limited company
24 The *last set*, oddly enough, is the least fresh
26 Coin of the realm
27 Sounds as if it would be more hindrance than help to an oarsman.
31 Left out
32 This lazy fellow would be younger if you changed his head
33 The singer opens with a well-known number
34 I am usually drunk at this meal
35 Entertaining fellows

DOWN

1 Those who called him a goat were only half right
2 *To Capri* for fruit
3 A game two can play at
4 Sack. Sounds like an instrument either way
5 Fortune made from building?
6 The yarn about a teetotaler is idle talk
7 One does it possibly for knowledge, but more often for something more refreshing
8 Hard up
12 Erin produces (and starts) this emerald-green mineral
13 Surface a snake can't cross
14 Most serious item of male wedding garb?
16 Hard or soft in fishes
18 Did this tree survive the forest fire?
21 The beheaded Russian turns out to be Spanish!
23 Fruit with more than four quarters
24 An easy one, this
25 Bird or disease, but not a bird disease
26 An extra strong porter
28 Bands on wheels
29 The tide, it seems, has turned
30 It progresses by leaps and bounds

Special Announcement to Nation Cross-Word Puzzlers

Beginning with this issue *The Nation* will run four consecutive cryptogrammic cross-word puzzles. If our readers like them, this puzzle page will become a regular weekly *Nation* feature. A word of explanation: this week's puzzle contains a number of filled-in letters to help the novices along. But as our readers get the hang of it, the puzzle will become increasingly difficult, and all hints will eventually be eliminated. The solution of this puzzle will appear in next week's issue, together with Puzzle No. 2. Meanwhile, send us your criticism, and suggestions; on the basis of them we may later print other kinds of brain-teasers on this page—political puzzles, literary quizzes, new quizzes, cryptograms on statements by outstanding statesmen. We urge you to send us your suggestions and recommendations.

Address your letters to

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